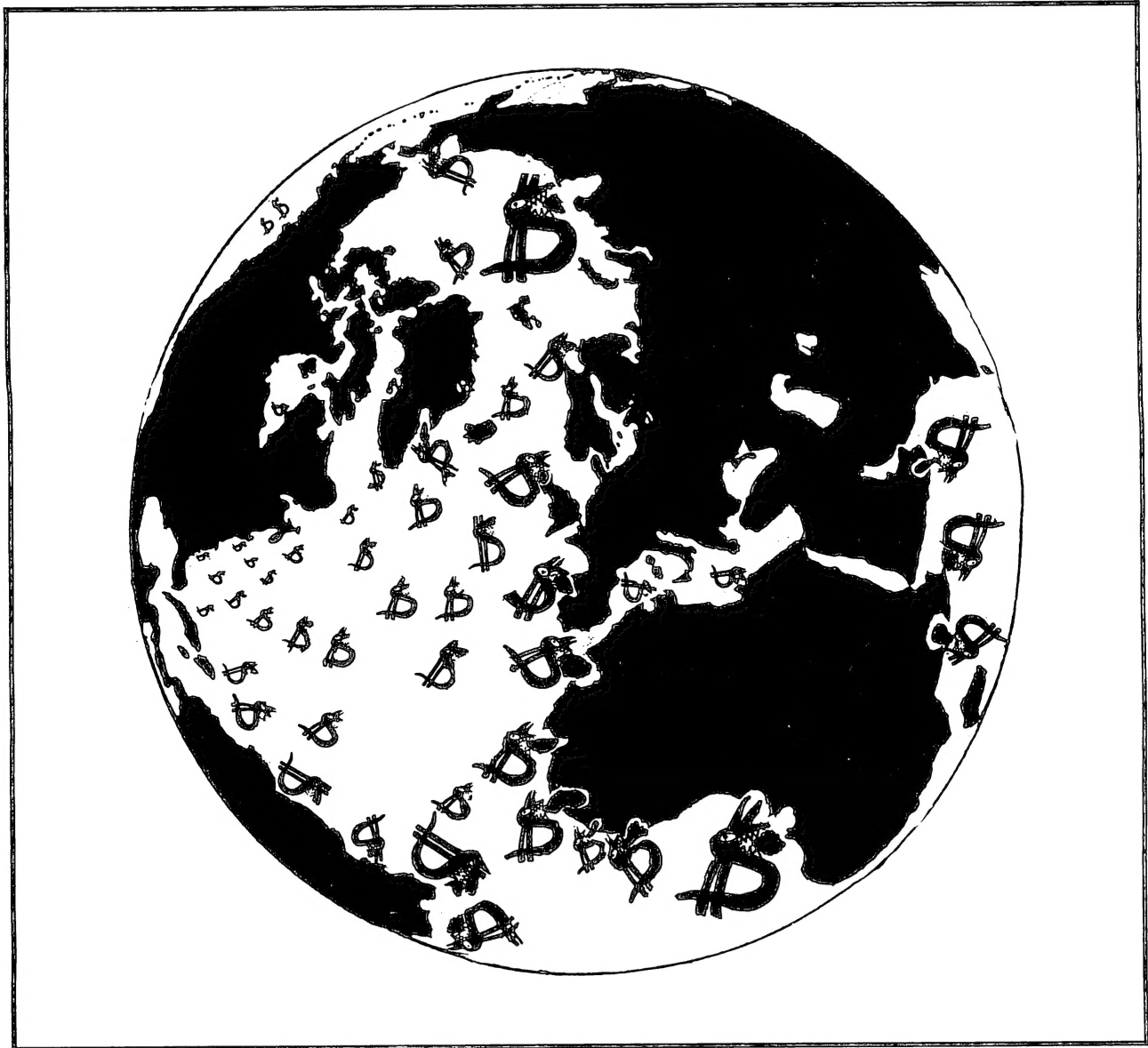


GREEN LETTER GreenerTimes

WINTER 1989



ECOLOGICAL ECONOMICS

\$200

Ecology: [from Gr. *oikos*, house; and *-logos*, reason.]

Economics: n. pl. [from Gr. *oikos*, house; and *nemein*, to distribute or manage: the science of household management.]

The earth is our home. Why has our planetary "household" management become separated from reasoning about the household? How can we re-think the management of our planetary "household?"

Green Letter

is an independent educational forum devoted to reporting on activities of the Green movement.

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In Search of Greener Times

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Towards an Ecological Economics

William E. Rees

Industrial nations continue to act as if the economy operates in isolation from "the environment." In this view the environment serves as an infinite storehouse of resources and a sink for wastes, but is otherwise perceived as static, inert and passive. By contrast, the economy is seen as a dynamic productive system whose continued growth can produce a bountiful material standard of living for all. Resource depletion and pollution are considered to be temporary manageable problems that can be solved through increased efficiency, improved technology and better regulation. Linear mechanical thinking tells us that if we do push the environment too far, simply backing off will set things right again.

From an ecological viewpoint, these perceptions are dangerously misleading. The following essays show how the separation of environment and economy originated in the mechanistic world view of the rise of science in the seventeenth century. It contrasts the mechanistic view to an ecological viewpoint centered on the movement of ecological capital into economic capital. Finally, this analysis shows that sustainable development requires that we revise the material economic growth model, accept ecological limits on consumption, and learn to live on the interest of our remaining ecological capital.

The Cultural Roots of Reality

How society relates to the rest of reality is profoundly affected by an elaborate set of unconscious "facts," unquestioned assumptions and entrenched beliefs. These are derived ultimately from the shared experience of a people in the course of their social evolution and are transmitted culturally to each new individual as s/he matures in that particular milieu. Such a common philosophy or world view shapes the social relationships, political institutions and the nature of economic enterprise of every culture.

The scientific or Cartesian world view that presently dominates western society is characterized by a mechanical view of the universe as a "vast machine, wound up by

God to tick forever, and consisting of two basic entities: matter and motion." While it has much deeper roots, this vision flowered only in the 17th century and is most closely associated with Rene Descartes, Frances Bacon and Isaac Newton. By the end of the 17th century these founders of the scientific world view had abolished the ancient organic perception of the earth as a living entity, the nurturing mother.

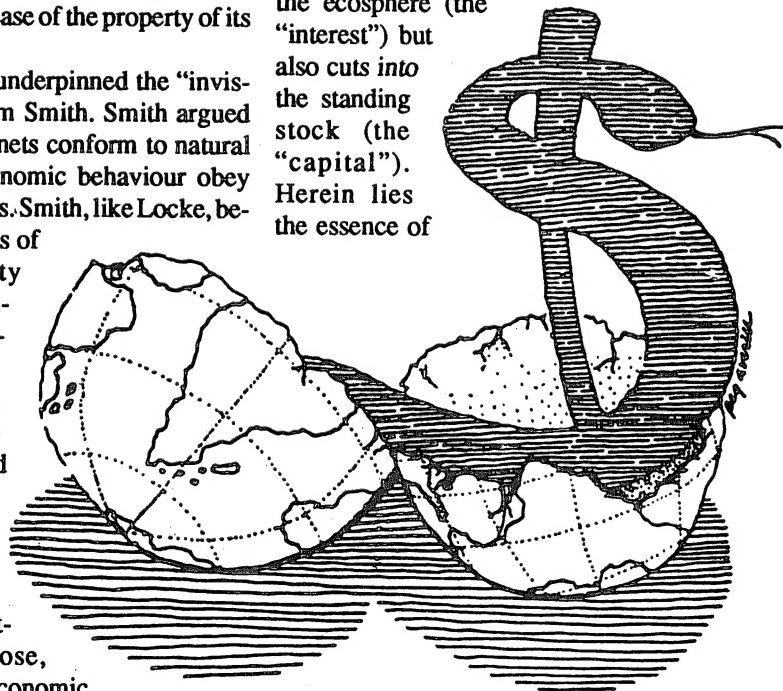
It remained for two additional thinkers to apply the mechanical world-view directly to human institutions and affairs. John Locke was driven to determine the "natural" basis of society. With God alienated from nature, Locke reasoned that religion could no longer provide the rational basis for government. People had to create their own meaning, and the purpose of society was reduced to protecting and encouraging the increase of the property of its members.

Similar logic underpinned the "invisible hand" of Adam Smith. Smith argued that just as the planets conform to natural laws, so must economic behaviour obey subtle natural forces. Smith, like Locke, believed that the basis of all human activity was material self-interest. By this reasoning, "any attempt by society to guide 'natural' economic forces would be inefficient." Interference with the workings of the "invisible hand," for whatever noble purpose, would only stifle economic growth. Significantly, this effectively excluded morality from the realm of political economy. From its roots in the Cartesian world view, the utilitarian social mechanics of Locke and Smith succeeded in reducing human beings to selfish egoists devoted mainly to economic production and consumption in the pursuit of endless material abundance.

Ecological Reality

The first step is to recognize that the objectification of the natural world is an artifact of the Cartesian world view. In effect, environment-as-separate-entity is a human invention. That the economy has an independent life is a cultural myth. The reality is that economy and environment have always been fully and inextricably integrated everywhere but in the Cartesian mind. Functionally there is only a single entity, the ecosphere, and humankind has always been part of it.

Clearly, any human activity dependent on the consumptive use of ecological resources (forestry, fisheries, agriculture, waste disposal, urban sprawl onto agricultural lands) cannot be sustained indefinitely if it uses not only the annual production of the ecosphere (the "interest") but also cuts into the standing stock (the "capital"). Herein lies the essence of



our environmental crises. Persistent trends in key ecological variables indicate that we have not only been living off the interest but also consuming our ecological capital. This is the inevitable consequence of exponential material growth in a finite environment.

Viewing the decline of the ecosphere in the same light as rising standards of

living provides a novel perspective on at least one source of our unprecedented wealth. The intersecting curves reveal that throughout the industrial revolution we have been busily converting ecological capital into economic capital, in short, the global economy is cannibalizing the ecosphere.

This means that much of our wealth is illusion. We have simply drawn down one account (the ecosphere) to add to another (material wealth). It might even be argued that we have been collectively impoverished in the process. Much potentially renewable ecological capital has been permanently converted into machinery, plant and possessions that will eventually wear out and have to be replaced at the cost of additional resources.

To put it another way, we've long been enjoying a free ride for which payment has now come due. Forest products, food and manufactured goods are undervalued in the marketplace to the extent the prices we pay do not include the costs of resource maintenance. Our paychecks and corporate profits are excessive to the extent that the resource base which produced them has been run down. The family's second car may represent capital that was not ploughed back into silviculture, soils management and waste control. In short, the 'good life' for some humans has been subsidized at the expense of other life on the planet, including future generations.

Sustainability in the Real World: Living on the Interest

Our analysis of the present pathological relationship between environment and economy and the implications of carrying capacity for future development represent a serious challenge to the central assumptions of our economy and to our present way of life. In essence, compatible economy-environment integration requires that we recognize the reality of ecological limits to material growth and the need to live on the interest of our remaining ecological capital. Society must soon come to accept the following principles as guidelines on the road to sustainable development.

The economy is an integral component of the ecosphere. The future of society is therefore wholly dependent upon our ability to restore and maintain the self-producing structure and functional relationships of the ecosphere. The maximum
(See "Rees" p. 16 col. 1)

Inside the Rainforest

Judith Hurley

"This is the time of year when Brazil's farmers torch the Amazon forest, the ancient home of 80,000 different species of plants and 30 million species of animals, many still unknown to science. Thick clouds of smoke will billow up from the dying forest, drifting for miles over the green canopy. Animals and plants will perish by the millions, as intricate communities that took eons to evolve are destroyed in a day."

New York Times, September 20, 1989

As I have worked with popular movements of Brazil during the past five years it has become crystal clear to me that there is no way to separate the environmental problems from the social, political, and economic circumstances out of which they came.

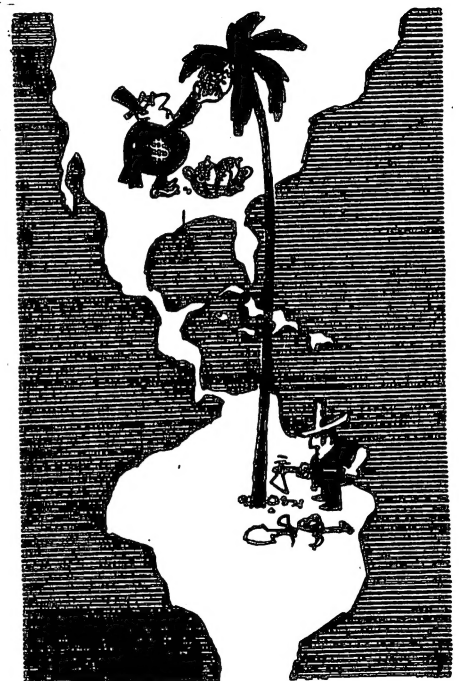
I find it extremely distressing when commentators on this issue bemoan the fact that "Brazil" is cutting down its forests. The fact is that we in the U.S. are the people best positioned to save the rainforest!

It is true that the colonists, hundreds of thousands of poor landless farm families who have moved to the rainforests from other parts of Brazil, are cutting and burning the trees to open land on which to grow food. The soil in the rainforests is unsuitable for agriculture, so that after a few years it stops producing and they are compelled to move on and do the same thing a few miles down the road.

But why are the colonists there and where do they come from? In Brazil 25 million small farmers have lost their land in the past twenty years. They were forced out by what we euphemistically call "development". Capital was brought in from the outside by agencies like the World Bank to "modernize" agriculture. That means a few farmers in a given area - those who were already large landowners and could benefit from the use of farm machinery - were given credit to buy tractors, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, etc. As a result these large landowners were able to outproduce and undersell the small farmers who, within a few years, unable to compete, were forced to migrate to the cities, thus becoming a part of the vast unskilled labor pool made up of people like themselves. Every city in Brazil is now ringed by shanty towns made of these refugees from the countryside. They live in miserable shacks, most without clean

water, electricity, or sanitation, without jobs, schools, or health services. Meanwhile U.S. producers of farm machinery and chemicals were profiting nicely as a result of the new markets opened up by World Bank loans. U.S.-based transnational corporations also benefitted from cheap labor they could use in their industrial operations in Brazil's urban areas.

The fly in the ointment from the standpoint of the corporate class was that such large concentrations of dissatisfied people constituted a threat to social stability. So the Brazilian government (which neither then nor now could be called democratic) decided to open the Amazon for colonization. With international aid it built first the Transamazon Highway and then a number of other roads into the rainforest. It conducted a propaganda campaign among the poor offering the inducement of free land,



and playing up the Amazon as the new frontier of opportunity.

Since the current phase of the debt crisis began in 1982 Brazil has been forced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to practice "austerity" in its domestic affairs. This made conditions in the cities even worse, causing large scale loss of jobs in the public sector, at least a 50% decline in real wages, increases in the costs of housing, food, and public transport, as well as huge cuts in health and education. Infant mortality has soared and people are feeling desperate about their very survival.

While conditions for colonists in the Amazon are awful—there are no social services, and in addition colonists face an epidemic of malaria that approaches 100% in some regions—the availability of land gives some colonists at least some control over their lives. By extremely hard work they are at least able to keep food in their children's mouths and stay alive. What we must understand is that with the imminent starvation of their families, saving the rainforest, even saving the planet, is not and cannot be the first priority of the colonists. As long as they do not perceive any other options they will continue on their present course.

What options might there be? The Brazilian popular movements are clear on this. Their top priorities are land reform and stopping payment on the foreign debt. Brazil is a huge country the size of the U.S. and has vast amounts of unused agricultural land (outside the rainforest). *It is estimated that a mere 1% of landowners control 48% of Brazil's arable land, half of which is non-productive, held only for speculation.* If this unused land were redistributed there would be enough for all. The Brazilian government and the U.S. through their influence on both the World Bank and the IMF have consistently opposed land reform and have placed their weight on the side of ever greater concentration of ownership. The U.S. has also taken an extremely narrow and short-sighted position on the debt crisis by supporting a handful of commercial banks, while ignoring the hunger and devastation experienced by millions of people who had nothing to do with the debt incurred by the military dictatorship, but are nevertheless the ones who bear the burden of repayment. Incidentally, contrary to public opinion, the U.S. debt

(See "Hurley" p. 17 col. 2)

Message from the Amazonians



Communication from the Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Peoples' Organization of the Amazon Basin (Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Columbia, Brazil).

What we are concerned about:

- We are concerned that you have left us, the indigenous peoples, out of your vision of the Amazonian biosphere. The focus of concern of the environmental community has typically been the preservation of the tropical forests and its plant and animal inhabitants. You have shown little interest in its human inhabitants who are also part of that biosphere.

- We are concerned about the "debt for nature swaps" which put your organizations in a position of negotiating with our governments the future of our homelands. We know of specific examples of such swaps which have shown the most brazen disregard for the rights of the indigenous inhabitants and which are resulting in the ultimate destruction of the very forests which they were meant to preserve.

- We are concerned that you have left us indigenous peoples and our organizations out of the political process which is determining the future of our homeland. While we appreciate your efforts on our behalf, we want to make it clear that we never delegated any power of representation to the environmentalist community nor to any individual nor organization within that community.

- We are concerned about the violence and ecological destruction of our homeland caused by the increasing production and trafficking of cocaine, most of which is consumed here in the US.

What We Want:

- We want you, the environmental community, to recognize that the most effective defense of the Amazonian biosphere is the recognition of our ownership rights over our territories and the promotion of our models for living within that biosphere.

- We want you, the environmental community, to recognize that we indigenous peoples are an important and integral part of the Amazonian biosphere.

- We want you, the environmental community, to recognize and promote our rights as Indigenous Peoples as we have been defining those rights within the UN Workgroup for Indigenous Peoples.

- We want to represent ourselves and our interests directly in all negotiations concerning the future of our Amazonian homeland.

What we Propose:

- We propose that you work directly with our organizations on all your programs and campaigns which affect our homelands.

(See "Amazonians" p. 18. col. 1)

Put the 'Eco' Back in Economics

Harold Gilliam

Under the crystal chandeliers of the Fairmont Hotel, the pin-striped members of the National Association of Business Economists convened recently to discuss such subjects as analytical graphics, LBOs, econometric programs for IBM compatibles and similar arcana.

The economists showed particular concern about the economic illiteracy of students.

To judge from the conference, a more appropriate subject would have been the ecologic illiteracy of economists.

Nowhere on the program was there any

seen, that our wonderfully productive economy, as it currently operates, is non-sustainable. It cannot continue to function at the rate its topsoil is being eroded and paved over, irrigated land is being salted up, aquifers are sinking, forests are dying from acid rain, the protective ozone layer is being depleted and the Earth's climatic balance is being upset by our atmospheric effluvia.

Consider a nationally used economics textbook financed by the San Francisco-based Foundation for Teaching Economics: *Our Economy: How It Works*, by Elmer U. Clawson of the University of the Pacific.

In many respects the book is a commendable, innovative attempt to introduce economics to eighth-grade students. It steers clear of most of the usual economic jargon and tells the story in terms familiar to students, from bread to blue jeans. It gives more attention than most other economics textbooks to pollution, recycling and conservation of natural resources.

But owing to the inevitable reliance of textbooks on currently accepted economics, its discussion of some vital matters seems seriously misleading. For example, no concept in economics is more obsolete than the GNP—the Gross National Product—as a measure of the health of the economy.

We find on page 12 of the book: "The GNP measures the dollar value of the economy's output of goods and services.... Changes in the GNP tell us whether and how fast our economy is growing."

And growth, of course, is generally regarded as good. But consider:

The Exxon Valdez covers Alaskan coasts with oil; the multi-million-dollar costs of cleaning it up come under the heading of goods and services and so are added to the GNP. The more oil spills we have, the more the GNP rises.

For similar reasons the costs of automobile accidents—including repairs, replacement of totalled cars, doctor bills and funeral costs—increase the GNP.

The same is true of environmental damage. Erode the soil, deplete the ground-

(See "Gilliam" p. 18. col. 1)

If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics, by Marilyn Waring. San Francisco, Harper and Row, 1988. \$19.95.

Reviewed by Blair Sandler

"[I]s not even the poorest approximation to the correct concept always better than accurate approximation to an irrelevant or erroneous concept[?]"

—Herman Daly, quoted in *If Women Counted*

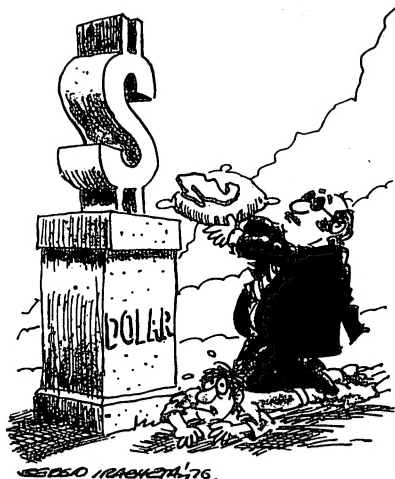
If Women Counted

Marilyn Waring, with a Ph.D. in political economy, and a former Member of Parliament in the national government of New Zealand, is well-credentialed to argue that the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA)—the theoretical framework underlying macroeconomic accounting concepts like GNP (Gross National Product)—is erroneous.

It is, unfortunately, not irrelevant, though, for it contributes to the maintenance of women's powerlessness and the devaluation of their work. Historically, UNSNA was developed to "pay for the war" (World War II); it continues to value death—war, poverty and poisons—while it renders the exploitation and abuse of women, children and the planet economically invisible. Consider:

"Tendai, a young girl in the Lowveld, in Zimbabwe. Her day starts at 4 A.M., when, to fetch water, she carries a thirty-litre tin to a borehole about eleven kilometers from her home. She walks barefoot and is home by 9 A.M. She eats a little and proceeds to fetch firewood until midday. She cleans the utensils from the family's morning meal and sits preparing a lunch of sadza for the family. After lunch and the cleaning of the dishes, she wanders in the hot sun until early evening, fetching wild vegetables for supper before making the evening trip for water. Her day ends at 9 P.M., after she has prepared supper and put her younger brothers and sisters to sleep. Tendai is considered unproductive, unoccupied, and economically inactive. According to the international economic system, Ten-

(See "Women" p. 19 col. 1)



mention of the overriding economic conundrum of our time: how to devise an economy that does not destroy the Earth.

Admittedly, economic illiteracy seems to be endemic among students (judging from recent polls and tests scores), and it is fortunate that an economics course is now a requirement for high-school graduation in California and about half the other states.

But organizations providing materials on economics for teachers and students quite naturally rely on mainstream economics, which has yet to recognize that all production of economic goods originates in the Earth and depends on the healthy functioning of natural systems.

Despite the customary acknowledgment of environmental problems, there is no indication, in any of the materials I have

Bioregional Economics

The following four pieces present bioregionalist perspectives on economics. The first is excerpted from the proceedings of the Third North American Bioregional Congress (NABC III), August, 1988. The latter three are each followed by the author's name. They have been edited by the *Green Letter* staff. For the entire article, please contact the author.



NABC III reached consensus on the following statement and strategies from the Economics Committee.

Vision statement:

A bioregional economy manifests itself through qualities of gift, trust, and compassion. Bioregional economics is a tool for implementing a social agenda informed by relationships, interdependence, and diversity; and is sensitive to the scale of the Earth's systems. Bioregional economics distributes the gifts of Earth to sustain the health and richness of the biosphere in which we live and through which human needs are fulfilled.

Decision-making is based on principles of local, democratic self-control and, secondarily, through mutually friendly, cooperative and compassionate relationships between and among individuals, groups, communities, bioregions, federations, and all species. A bioregional economics is expressive of a universe of beings evolving and working harmoniously toward the fulfillment of our individual destinies and our common future. A bioregional economy

reflects the oneness of all life. Sustainability of the bioregion is the hallmark of the bioregional economy.

The following principles characterize the quality of action in a bioregional economy:

1. Balance between individual freedom, social equity, and responsibility to the web of life.
2. Respect for the Earth community and responsibility to the future as a context for local decentralized control.
3. Equitable access to the gifts of the Earth.
4. Respect for individual freedom within community.
5. Attention to scale in relation to ecology, economy, and decentralization.
6. Friendly and cooperative economic relations.
7. Ecologically prudent design, production and distribution of durable goods (minimize waste).
8. To engage in the exchange of goods and services by relying less upon taking as much as possible for the smallest possible payment, and to rely more on giving as much as one is able and trusting that the gift is returned as others are able.

Strategies:

1. Oppose and undercut the dominant system in those areas where it is not in alignment with bioregional principles.
2. Redirect the energies and power of the old industrial/consumerist system into emerging sustainable systems.
3. Establish new sustainable systems in alignment with bioregional principles.

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Green Economics: Ecological Economics

If the vast majority of the large-scale economic enterprises on Earth were made to pay their way—without subsidies—in terms of full ecologically-audited costs of their raw materials and production-distribution operations, most of them would go broke in a matter of days, along with the

governments that support and subsidize them.

It's time to begin the move toward true efficiency now. This means ecological efficiency. It means paying the true costs. The new bottom line for the real source, measure, and arbiter of value and wealth is not money. It never was. Rather, it is the resources and ecological integrity of the Earth, and always has been. Ecology and economics come from the same root word. Hopefully before it's too late, humanity will see that good economics must also be good ecology.

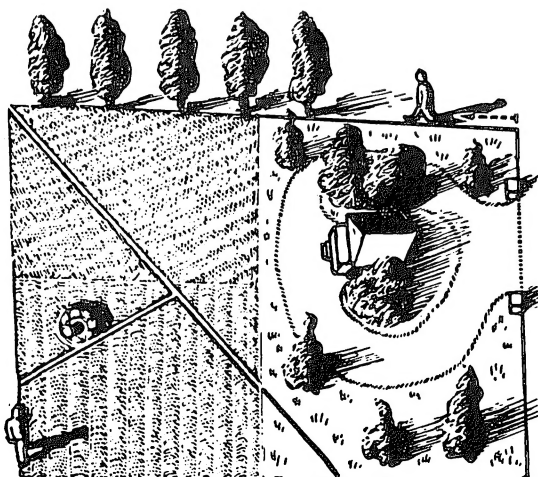
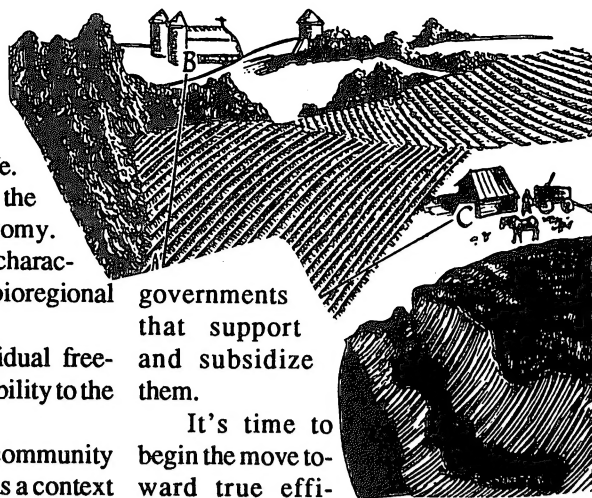
Eco-Economics

"Eco-economics" means regional-scale economies designed on the basis of ecological principles. It also means decentralization, deconcentration, and regionalization of our economic systems. It mandates, as much as possible, local production, consumption, and full-scale recycling, the latter activity derived as much as possible from local resources. It further mandates that no economic activity be destructive or compromising to the ecological integrity of the region within which it takes place.

Under "eco-economics," capital and "resources" are cycled within the region. As little as possible is allowed to "leak out."

Present macro-economics is a continual hemorrhaging from localities, which are bled dry of capital, energy, "resources," people, etc. This is true everywhere on earth, in the U.S. as well as the most socially and environmentally degraded areas of the third world. If everyplace on Earth is being ripped off, where is all this wealth winding up? In neat rows of numbers in the profit/loss columns of corporations and government, and in the piles of dead bodies, garbage, toxic waste, polluted air and water, and eroded soils.

No one, nothing is winning—for very



long. Everyone is losing, now. We, and all life on earth, are losing terribly. The consumer society must of necessity become the producer/conservator society, where the real work for people becomes economic and political empowerment through each home, family, community and region producing as many of its own basic requirements, using ecological techniques, as possible. This disintermediates much of our need for money, and effectively begins the necessary demonitization of human life.

Bringing Green/Eco-Economics to the Majority

Ecological principles, internalized into businesses and production enterprises, in any nation, can offer viability with social integrity, while removing or substantially mitigating social and ecological destructiveness from market and production activity.

Since the Greens cannot possibly be so naive as to expect all human business and production will immediately decentralize into ecologically-responsible regional co-operatives (although we should encourage and participate in this personally and collectively as much as possible), and since a vast proportion of the ecologically and socially destructive activity comes from state and corporate material production, in order to deal with these facts in the present we have to bring our policy statements into the present reality.

This means not making public pronouncements about eliminating capitalism, profit, and private initiative and ownership or creating "eco-socialism." It means moving ecological principles into the foundation of all production enterprises, no matter what pernicious system they are operating under. This means surplus from production (whether you call it "profit" or not) must be derived as much as possible from solar gain, and/or from ecologically responsible use of capital and renewable resources with zero or minimal disruption of the ecosystems in which the production takes place, with all by-products recycled.

From within our Green/ecological/third-way economic analysis, it is critical that we put forth pragmatic transitional policies and strategies for radically reducing the damage, which are also understandable and acceptable to the majority of people.

From ecology, we must translate into new language a new description of the solar-based surplus that must be created or

gathered by any viable economic enterprise (or any living thing, for that matter) and how that process fits into the ecosystem in which the enterprise is based.

Here, the baseline of sanity is for economic enterprises to be locally or regionally owned, controlled, and operated with ecological responsibility. Local and regional people should be employed, sources of supply derived (again with ecological responsibility) as much as possible from the region, wastes dealt with immediately, on site, by-products recycled and resold intra-regionally, "profits" (the fruits of productive activity in any form or currency) retained in that region, and any form of "capital" or material brought in from the outside likewise retained within the region.

This is a baseline from which we measure success, real efficiency, and "cost-effectiveness." This is ecological economics, with potent ecological/Green politics perforce intertwined.

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Economics As If The Earth Really Mattered*

Economics. Not exactly everyone's favorite topic. Current economic policies create painful and dangerous realities which we read about daily in the newspapers, hear about on radio and TV (if we watch it) and witness each day on our streets, no matter where we live. I am not an economist and there are many times when I wonder what in the world I am doing addressing issues related to economics. What I'd really like to be doing—what I dream about in solitary moments—is to live simply in a cottage on the edge of the forest growing herbs and flowers and relating to the animals who live in the forest with me. What a wonderful fantasy!

Maybe later, I tell myself. Meanwhile I see that it is economics—as we have created it—that is destroying the Earth, endangering us all.

There is lots of blame that can be placed. Blame legitimately falls on governments, corporations, on the growth ethic, on greed, on our desire to believe that "everything will be all right" if we just try and ignore what faces us each day when we wake up. Yet I believe that if we are to change things, placing blame isn't the way

to do it. My concern is to reach the so-called "mainstream" individuals who make up the majority of people in the U.S. People who are basically good, yet who are, for all intents and purposes, asleep—dreaming the good dream that it will be okay if they just get up, go to work, feed their kids and be good citizens, which seems to translate these days into "good consumers."

Over the past few years I have had the opportunity to address people of many different persuasions ranging from the converted to those who are concerned and even

(See "Bioregional" p. 20 col. 1)

NORTH AMERICAN BIOREGIONAL CONGRESS

In late August of 1990 at the Maine State YMCA Camp, the 4th North American Bioregional Congress will convene! The camp is 350 acres of white pine, beech, birch maple and oak, and a third of a mile of waterfront. We the steering Council need your help to make the coming months of planning easier!

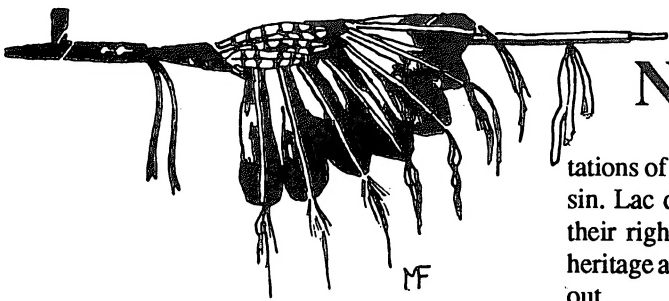
MONEY / EARLY REGISTRATION: \$125 to \$200. Help us out and secure your place at the Congress. This registration price is effective until January 31, 1990. If you wish to give more, please send two checks; one made payable to NABC IV, for registration, and your donation (which has to be more than \$50 for tax-donation purposes) payable to Center for Vision & Policy.



NABC IV PROCEEDINGS EDITOR(S) / PUBLISHER: This time we would like to have the people who will be doing the proceedings decided upon before the Congress convenes. So if you know of other great folks who could do the job, please let us know ASAP.

WOMEN & MEN TO LEAD CIRCLES: People who would like to help design and facilitate the portion of the Congress where men and women meet separately should contact us now.

PEOPLE FOR CHILDREN'S & YOUNG ADULTS' PROGRAMS: Please tell us about your experiences both in leading activities and planning programs, and give us a desired salary/acceptable trade.



Native American Struggles

CHIPPEWA SPEARFISHING UPDATE

—Rick Whaley

The 1989 spearfishing season brought a severe escalation of violent intimidation against Chippewa spearfishers and their families. Anti-treaty protesters fired rocks and ball bearings at spearers from wrist-rockets, and most nights brought out huge protests at the boatlandings, featuring the vilest racial and sexual remarks as well as attempts to block the launching of Chippewa boats. Few prosecutions have resulted from the massive violations of civil and safety rights of the Chippewa this year.

The response of the Chippewa was one of dignity, restraint and nonviolence. Witnesses for nonviolence helped shine a light on the terrorist activities in northern Wisconsin, and eventually media and law enforcement people could see that this was a one-sided and racially-motivated fight. The state of Wisconsin's responses to the disturbances were first to go to court to block the Chippewa's exercise of rights, and second to offer to buy out the off-reservation harvesting rights in an effort, they said, to quell the racial backlash.

The larger agenda of the state of Wisconsin has been exposed. The governor's top aide is James Klauser, former Exxon lobbyist. Corporate plans to make northern Wisconsin a new mining district as well as to build new pulp mills could be blocked if these developments would negatively impact on the harvestable resources (fish, wild rice, deer, timber). Such harmful development could proceed if a buyout agreement were signed between the Chippewa and the state. A unity of Native Americans and Green/environmentalists has emerged from the struggles of both communities for democratic control and basic safety.

When the matter was put to a vote, the Lac du Flambeau Chippewa rejected the buy-out of their rights by a 439-366 count, in a stunning repudiation of the wishes of their own tribal government and the expecta-

tations of every politician in Wisconsin. Lac du Flambeau members saw their rights as well as their cultural heritage at stake in the attempted buy-out.

With the failure of violent intimidation at the boatlandings to stop the spearfishing, and the failure of the take-money-for-rights idea, anti-treaty groups and politicians will now ask Congress to abrogate treaties with Native American nations. The multi-racial constituency of Greens and other witnesses in Wisconsin appeal to all concerned people to inform their Congresspeople of this racist backlash against Native American rights, and to urge resistance to all Congressional efforts to abrogate treaties and land claims with Native nations in Wisconsin and elsewhere.

For more information or letters of support, contact the Midwest Treaty Network, c/o the Grapevine, Box 1350, Bayfield, WI 54814; or the Milwaukee Greens Treaty Rights Task Force, Box 16471, Milwaukee, WI 53216. ☙



EDDIE HATCHER DENIED HIS RIGHTS

—Paul Bloom

Tuscaroran Indian Eddie Hatcher remains in maximum security prison in Raleigh, North Carolina, awaiting trial on state charges of kidnapping. These are charges which the state had previously dropped in favor of a federal trial, at which Hatcher was acquitted.

In February 1988, having obtained evidence of local law enforcement and county officials' complicity in major cocaine trafficking, and after failure to get help from the DEA, FBI and other outside agencies, Hatcher and another Tuscaroran Indian seized the offices of a local newspaper, the "Robesonian." Among their conditions for surrender was the appointment of a state task force to investigate the deaths in custody and unsolved murders of both Indians and Blacks.

Only Hatcher was charged with "hostage-taking." His was the first case to be tried under the 1984 Anti-terrorism Act.

So compelling were the truths he avowed that some of the hostages testified on his behalf, and a federal jury acquitted him of all charges. Seven weeks later, a local grand jury indicted him on state charges of kidnapping. Fearing for his life, Eddie Hatcher fled North Carolina. He was arrested in San Francisco and extradited to (See "Hatcher" p.21 col. 3)



BIG MOUNTAIN UPDATES

Big Mountain is a section of Indian land in northeastern Arizona. Several thousand Navajo (or "Dineh," as they prefer to call themselves) there have been resisting coercive relocation from their sacred, ancestral lands by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and a relocation commission (both agencies of the federal government). The San Diego Big Mountain Support Committee has called the relocation "a form of apartheid and a continuance of the genocide practiced against Native Americans since white settlers first came to this country."

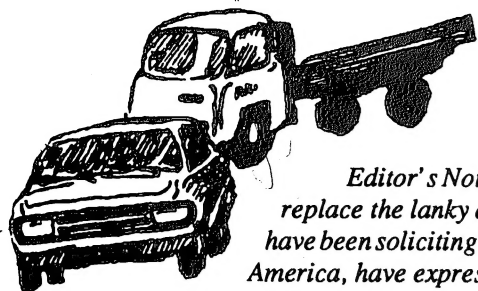
On October 20 of this year, "In Defense of Sacred Lands First Amendment Lawsuit" was thrown out of court by Judge Earl Carroll, U.S. District Court Judge in Phoenix. This lawsuit, in process for two years, has provided some measure of protection against the relocation. The Dineh are thus now in worse situation than before. The Big Mountain Legal Office is appealing the dismissal.

At their April 1989 conference the Left See "Big Mountain" p. 21 col. 2)



Leonard Peltier, unjustly jailed for thirteen years after the Native American occupation of Wounded Knee in 1975, is coming up for parole. Now is the time to right this wrong. Letters of support should be mailed to:

U.S. Prison Parole Board
Attn: Mr. R. L. Matthews, Warden
P.O. Box 1000
Leavenworth, KS 66048



The Automotive Column

Charles Varon

Editor's Note: We have some encouraging news in our long and trying search for an automotive editor to replace the lanky and revered Burgess Capweather, who retired in mid-1988. At Mr. Capweather's urging, we have been soliciting inquiries from persons with a theological background. So far 12 individuals, from across North America, have expressed interest, and the Editorial Board has pledged to make a selection before our next issue.

This month's column was prepared by Charles Varon, a long-time friend of Burgess Capweather and a man whose clutch recently developed a disturbing noise.

Question: I was playing around with the calculator program on my new computer, and discovered that an average worker in Czechoslovakia would need to work 338 months to earn what I just paid for my 1990 Volvo wagon. And that doesn't include food, rent or clothing for the worker, let alone any extras like power steering (8 months), cassette deck (5 months), or built-in picnic basket (2½ months). I know the world economy is out of balance, but this seems downright unfair! What can be done about this situation?

Response: Your concern is not an uncommon one. "Many compassionate people feel uneasy about car privilege," according to Wilbrina Thomas-Aspic, a Green psychologist specializing in everyday ethical dilemmas. She has studied over 300 American environmentalists' responses to questions like yours. The range is enormous, but Thomas-Aspic summarizes them as follows:

1. I own the Volvo wagon and the Czech worker doesn't; therefore I must deserve it.

2. He deserves a Volvo wagon, too, and someday he or his descendant may be able to buy one.

3. I am the prisoner of a car-based society and need a car to survive; therefore I might as well buy a Volvo. He is not a prisoner of a car-based society and is thus actually more fortunate than I am.

4. We should both own Volvos, but not wagons, and no fancy extras—in fact a stripped-down model that gets 100 miles per gallon and lasts 50 years, and then most of the parts would be recycled.

5. If East bloc countries like Czechoslovakia embrace capitalism and become car-bound, what then? And what about Third World nations that are rapidly industrializing?

6. Since non-car owners still make up the vast majority of the world's population,

cars ownership should be chosen by lottery. Until then, I'll hold on to the Volvo.

For another perspective on your question, we spoke to Christopher Halibut-Potemkin, the environmental movement historian. He told us there have been a variety of responses to the skewed distribution of automobiles:

¶ In the early 1970's a group based in New York sent an appeal to 20,000 people on "sympathetic mailing lists," asking them for a contribution equal to their annual car insurance premium. The money was to go toward the purchase of automobiles for randomly-selected peasants in India, China, and Micronesia. Some \$800,000 was collected in this "Cars for the Carless" solicitation, but unfortunately none of it ever reached the Third World; the perpetrators of the scam were never caught. The phenomenal success of the campaign, however, is still legendary in the direct mail community.

¶ In 1979, a Boston auto mechanic named Henry Tarpuling-Shevshev set out to rectify the global auto imbalance by reducing the number of cars in the United States. His strategy involved lobbying for a 50 percent value added tax on new automobiles, as well as organizing mechanics to sabotage customers' cars. According to Halibut-Potemkin, Tarpuling-Shevshev quickly learned—to his dismay—that many mechanics were already sabotaging vehicles, intentionally or otherwise. The value added tax died a quiet, Washington, D.C., death.

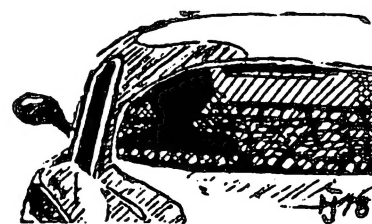
After this extensive historical review, Christopher Halibut-Potemkin reminded us that not all efforts to change global automotive patterns originate in the United States, and directed us to the nascent, New Delhi-based group Zero Automotive Growth. Since ZAG has no telephone, we wrote a letter and received this reply from the group's executive director, Arjuna Wheelbarrow-Singh:

"Our organisation represents constituencies in 14 non-developed countries. From painful experience with your multinational capitalists, we have seen what it is to reap the deadly fruits of industrialism. Widespread automobile culture interests us not in the least. We enjoy a clever and oft-spoken axiom among our group: 'To be car-free is to be carefree'.

"The programme of Zero Automotive Growth extends beyond our own nations. Perhaps our work of greatest benefit occurs in the 'developed' world, where we have begun distributing free literature on automotive planning, as well as low-cost car control devices. Primary among these is the 'bank account condom', which prevents one from expending the large sums necessary to purchase second or third cars.

"Naturally, this work takes us to the most spiritually backward areas, but the results are quite redeeming. For instance we not long ago received from Mr. and Mrs. Elbee of LaCrosse, Wisconsin this kind aerogramme:

"Thank you so much for sending an automotive planning counselor to our community! We introduced her to our 'brood'—the '79 and '81 Imperials, the '82 Camaro, the '84 Lincoln, and the '88 Integra... We were afraid we wouldn't be able to care properly for the next few cars—you know, give them enough gasoline and wiper fluid. After the counseling, we saw how our culture's teachings had kept us ignorant; no one had ever told us about car control!"



Miana Jensen

The Environment, Poverty and the Land Question

Wendell Fitzgerald

Over 100 years ago, American economist and social philosopher Henry George presented analysis showing that land monopoly is the grandparent of all monopolies, and supports its child, the monopoly of capital. In his view, the removal of unearned profits from land monopoly would in a large part prevent the monopoly of capital.

In George's analysis, treating land as merely another commodity to be bought, sold and speculated with is the flaw in the free market system. Labor and capital are not at odds with each other. It is labor and capital, the active factors of production, which are at the mercy of owners of land and natural resources. Labor and capital are partners in production. Thus labor in a just system, i.e. a system where no one could get an income from the ownership of a privilege or monopoly, would naturally become the holders of much capital. George noted that the profits to be made from land give rise to the incentive to hold land not for efficient and productive use, but for specu-

lation and profit. He saw that land monopoly and the speculation that it gives rise to caused poverty, maldistribution of wealth, inefficient use of all factors of production (land, labor and capital) and the proliferation of futile attempts by governments and private charity to solve the problems caused thereby. Today we can see, in addition, that land monopoly and land speculation are at the heart of urban blight and urban sprawl and are, therefore, responsible for much of the social and environmental degradation attending those phenomena.

A synthesis between the values of left and right becomes possible in the light of George's analysis. The solution to the land question would promote social justice, eliminate the profits privilege, enhance the powers of labor and capital to produce, and lay the groundwork for environmental salvation. George's proposed solution to the land question is to tax land values heavily while at the same time eliminating taxes that fall on labor and capital. This concept is variously called land value taxation, incentive taxation or the community location charge. A useful discussion of this aspect of George's thought requires more space than is available here. Suffice it to say that George would have us start the process he envisioned by reforming the property tax. The property tax already embodies a tax on land values. Over a five or ten year

period it could be transformed to a tax on land values only by slowly lowering the tax on land improvements and increasing it on land values. The purpose would not be to raise more taxes so much as to shift their burden.

It should be noted that the recent Bush administration proposal to lower the capital gains tax is touted as a way to encourage more capital formation and investment. In other words it is said that lowering the tax will actually increase the supply of capital and thereby reduce its cost. This argument is absolutely untrue for land. The result of reducing the capital gains tax on land will be to make it more valuable and encourage more speculation in it. Reducing the tax on human-made capital will tend to call more of it into being through production and savings, but no more land can be called into supply because all that will ever be supplied is already here.

The land question and its economics deserves further study. For more information, contact Henry George Schools in New York and Chicago, or send a pre-addressed post paid envelope to the Henry George School, 1568 Shrader St., San Francisco, CA 94117 for a brochure and book list. ☙

The Other Economic Summit

The Other Economic Summit/North America (TOES/NA) is an international forum for the presentation, discussion, and advocacy of the economic ideas upon which a sustainable and just society can be built. TOES events have taken place every year since 1984, immediately before the official economic summit of the major western powers.

TOES main objective is to foster the development of a new school of thought in tune with the social and economic realities of the late twentieth century. The essential concerns of the living economy are:

- to develop an economics of fundamental human needs and how they may be satisfied;
- to integrate considerations of economy with those of society, ecology and ethics;
- to explore the implications, costs and benefits of community oriented economics and self-reliance;
- to explore global relationships, taking into account issues of interdependence, organization, and participation as well as production and efficiency.

TOES/NA was organized in 1987 and prepared a summit conference to coincide with the 1988 Toronto summit hosted by Canada. British and North American TOES engaged French activists and economists to sponsor a TOES conference in Paris when France hosted the 1989 summit. The summit conferences continue to provide a setting for thinkers and activists from around the world to publicize and discuss ongoing research and projects.

TOES/NA seeks to bring together the foremost practitioners and theorists from the
(See "TOES" p. 15 col. 3)



The Revitalization of the Economy:
Promoting Tourism

Dare To Dream

Blair Sandler

A popular slogan of the New Left was "Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win!" Perhaps the slogan of the nineties should be "Dare to Dream!" A group of people in Maine is daring to dream, and inviting others to dream with them:

What are your dreams of an ideal future? What would this corner of the world look like if we lived justly with one another and the earth? What gets in the way of establishing justice? What do we need to do now to shape the future toward justice and life?

Dreams take on power when they take on life, when they become reality. The Center for Vision and Policy, and WINGS (Women In Nurturing Group Support), which works with low-income single women parents, have produced an organizing tool in the form of a draft paper, "Dare to Dream," with which they intend to create dreams and breathe life into them.

The paper begins with a vision of ecological, economic and social justice, proceeds with an analysis of the shape of Maine's economy and its consequences (increased class divisions and destruction of life), and closes with a section called "What can we do?" In keeping with its participatory character, it includes a discussion guide, questions for discussion, and a response sheet which can be sent back to the writers with feedback on the paper.

The authors' vision of a just future enables and requires us to move

In this vision, communities are described as "respectful of the life of all its inhabitants and of the planet." "Each community is *responsible* for enabling its inhabitants to live with *security* and *sufficiency*." Communities are "interdependent," "political," and "contexts of *creativity*."

In its economic analysis, the paper points out that Maine's economy is controlled from out of state: "Most firms that employ 250 or more workers are absentee-owned, including all 14 pulp and paper industries and, in 1979, 76 percent of all companies with 1,000 or more employees." The authors similarly note that "only 25 percent of the apples grown in Maine... are consumed in Maine," while many apples consumed in state are imported from else-

where. This pattern of global trading implies dependency and fragmentation for the people of Maine.

These economic patterns are "supported by a range of values and beliefs about human beings, work, and the earth." One belief which the paper challenges says "that no one deserves anything... access must be earned."

As part of the process of producing this paper, The Center for Vision and Policy and WINGS, along with American Friends Service Committee, Casco Bay Greens, and Central Maine Indian Association, co-sponsored a regional conference with the same name, "Dare to Dream." On November 4, 120 Greens, Bioregionalists, Native People, low income single women parents and religious peace and justice activists came together to explore "concrete economic policies and practices that are socially, economically and ecologically just" and to share "ideas and plans for creating economic justice in this region."

The purpose of the conference was to get different people concerned with justice, including those who think capitalism must go and those trying to work within the system, to dialogue and hold each other accountable.

In the keynote speech, John Mohawk traced the roots of the Military-Industrial Complex back to Charlemagne in 8th century Europe. There were workshops on community-based barter systems, rural land trusts, affordable urban housing for low-income women, native self-sufficiency and native business, feminist perspectives on economic justice, workers' rights in Maine, and other topics.

Workshop recommendations included: having conference participants bring their own cups in order to cut down on paper use, taking time every day to meditate on our vision of the future, voting for a state-wide referendum on a bond issue to raise money for affordable housing through land trusts and another banning cruise missile testing in Maine (both referenda passed!), organizing local study-action groups around issues in the draft "Dare to Dream" paper, and more.

The Economic Justice Task Force will

take the workshop recommendations, make their assessment and incorporate them into a revised draft of the paper.

Another conference will follow up on the nuts and bolts of developing affordable housing and community-based economies in both rural and urban areas.

The draft paper "Dare to Dream" is *not* copyrighted. It is available for \$2.50 from:

Center for Vision and Policy
Box 255
Bath ME 04530 ☙

Creating Our Future

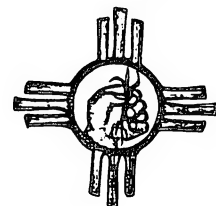
Are You a High School Student?

You can obtain a 60 page manual containing information about tropical rainforests, how to organize a meeting, project ideas and how to accomplish them, as well as other resources. This has been put together by *Creating Our Future*, a group of young people working together to end environmental destruction. They are also planning a series of high school speaking and workshop tours throughout the US. They will start in late January in California. Anyone interested in sponsoring their visit in your area or receiving a manual can write to them. Please send \$5.00 if possible for the manual.

Creating Our Future
398 N. Ferndale
Mill Valley, CA 94941 ☙

Tierra Amarilla Revisited

An update on the Flores Beanfield War (see *Green Letter*, Fall '88): An out-of-court settlement has been made by Vista Del Brazos, the Arizona land investment partnership, to the community. The settlement consists of 200 out of the 600 contested acres, and \$117,000. This land is on the road and will be used for a cultural center. For further information write: Tenantzin Land Institute, 1446 Bridge Boulevard, Albuquerque NM, 87105. ☙



Holding United Technologies Corporation Accountable

David Solnit

Materials from an adjacent construction lot became makeshift road barricades as the sun rose at United Technologies Corporation (UTC) just off Highway 101 in San Jose, California, on October 16. Nearly a quarter of UTC's administrators and office workers were turned away or chose to leave as a result of the direct action organized by members of the Bay Area Peace Test, local Green activists, and concerned community members.

Forty students from a local high school ecology class chanted, "U-T-C what are you doing to me? Got toxic air to breathe and drinking water disease." Their chanting filled the air as one small affinity group of activists blockaded the front entrance to the corporate headquarters, and another was arrested after entering the building. One activist hung a huge banner off the roof reading "UTC's NUCLEAR BOMBS = POISON WATER."

Local environmental activists and greens had come together with worried neighbors and regional and national peace groups to challenge UTC. Their testing and production of rocket and missile motors for the Trident II (D5), the Minuteman III, the Tomahawk Cruise, and the Titan as well as the resulting toxic poisoning threaten the local and global ecology.

A history of toxic waste ponds at UTC and contaminated water discharges have caused serious groundwater contamination that is seeping towards Anderson Reservoir, a half-mile downstream from the facility. Included in the groundwater are officially unsafe levels of the carcinogenic solvent TCE. UTC's bare ground burn pits of excess rocket fuel and ground-shaking rocket motor tests contaminate San Francisco Bay Area air with hundreds of thousands of pounds of toxic materials. Additionally UTC transports highly explosive chemicals, radioactive materials and hazardous waste through residential communities.

We called for the conversion of UTC to "socially useful, ecologically safe purposes as decided by the surrounding community and UTC workers," including guaranteed employment for those currently

employed. Contact was made with International Union of Electrical Workers at UTC's plant, but a proposal for mutual support was not accepted by them. (We would have blockaded the Administration Headquarters instead of the plant, supported them on health and safety and plant closure measures, and they would have come to our teach-in, demonstration and press conference, to talk about their health and safety and other issues and set up a face to face meeting between their rank and file union members and Bay Area Peace Test members.)

The poisonous, ecologically destructive impact of the arms race has become an increasing focus of the the organizing group, Bay Area Peace Test (BAPT). BAPT is a regional alliance of peace and environmental groups committed to using nonviolent direct action, which includes the San Jose-based United Technologies Conversion Project. The action at UTC was part of a week of demonstrations coordinated by Mobilization for Survival at nuclear weapons facilities across the country by a growing movement of peace, environmental and citizens groups. During the week of October 16-23 hundreds of people also demonstrated at Cape Canaveral in Florida, Los Alamos Nuclear Weapons Laboratory in New Mexico, and Idaho National Engineering Lab.

This organizing effort is indicative of the strong connections being made between opponents of the arms race and ecology activists and the accompanying "greening" of the peace movement. I believe that the green movement and the peace movement need each other; the peace movement needs a radical green analytical framework to look cohesively at the interrelated forms of domination rather than seeing a list of issues; and the greens need the direct action wing of the peace movement's successful practice of green theory and values: commitment to taking nonviolent action and effective use of non-hierarchical process and decentralized organization.

David Solnit is an activist who works with the Bay Area Peace Test, the American Peace Test, and Circle A Cluster. ♣



Earth Day Wall St. Action

Shut down Wall St.: A Massive Audacious Direct Action will be held on the Monday following Earth Day. Planning for the Wall St. Action is already involving people from a wide spectrum of ecology, peace and social justice organizations. We hope that your organization will join our coalition and become a part of the planning and organizing of what promises to be a milestone event in the resurgence of political activism of the 1990s. Coordinators: Paula Emery, Howard Hawkins, Brian Tokar, P.O. Box 93, Plainfield, VT 05667 Phone: (802) 295-1544. ♣

HIV+ Immigrants: INS says No!

If you would like to help immigrants who are HIV positive, and who are applying for legalization, please write to:

Mr. Richard Norton
Assoc. Com. of Examinations
INS
425 I St., NW
Washington, DC 20536

i.e.:

Dear Mr. Norton,

I'm writing to encourage you to grant waivers to HIV positive immigrants who are applying for legalization. Most of these people have lived in this country nearly 10 years and consider the U.S. their home. They were most certainly infected here and should not be punished for that.

etc. ♣



International Appeal to Action

"No defence reasons can justify the silent nuclear war of the government against its own people. Let the fate of millions of living people not depend on the solution of those who sit in their cabinets. Only by uniting our efforts may we, the people, help ourselves survive in this still green world"

—Nevada Movement, Kazakhstan, USSR

"We can not help but see that the United States and other nuclear powers are testing their most destructive weapons on other peoples' land. We have a map of the world showing how all atomic and nuclear tests have been conducted on the territory of native peoples."

—Western Shoshone National Council, Great Basin (Nevada, USA)

We the people of the world declare that we support each other in our aim to end all nuclear weapons testing and production across the globe.

We declare our intention to close the nuclear weapons testing sites and convert production facilities which are poisoning our air, water, soil and people.

We call for unified worldwide actions March 29- April 2, 1990, to end all nuclear weapons testing and production.

Testing and production of nuclear weapons is responsible for untold damage to our earth and all its creatures. We have paid dearly for the high cost of militarism, resulting in immense suffering and the failure of nations to meet the basic human needs of their own citizens. Victims of nuclear explosions and weapons production have not yet been fully recognized or compensated. Govern-

ments are sacrificing the lands, lives and futures of indigenous peoples, and violating their right to self-determination. By planning and preparing for nuclear war, governments are violating the international agreements

diation knows no borders and crosses ethnic and racial lines. Our vision of peace and justice must be global also.

Already events of enormous significance are taking shape in 1990. From March 29 to April 2 the American Peace Test, in cooperation with the Western Shoshone, will organize nonviolent direct action and a peace encampment at the Nevada Test Site, where all U.S. and British nuclear weapons tests are conducted. At the same time, the grassroots Nevada Movement in Kazakhstan, USSR, where Soviet nuclear weapons tests are conducted, is planning coordinated actions against the testing in their own country. Joint actions have already been planned between these two groups and the Peace



Trespass at the Nevada Test Site, April 1989

Photo: Keith Holmes

which prohibit war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

Clearly, after 45 years of the nuclear arms race, we can not look to our governments to bring about an end to the deadly process. We, the people of the world, must instead look to and support each other. Peace and justice are our birthright and our concern. Only internationally coordinated action will create greater awareness and mutual support of our many and various movements for peace, the environment, and self-determination. Ra-

Test Campaign in the Federal Republic of Germany, and Freedom and Peace in Poland. One compelling reason for choosing these dates is to coincide with the planned deployment of the first strike Trident II missile on March 31st.

Spring actions in 1990 will focus on many sites—nuclear weapons research, testing, production, deployment, or waste facilities, embassies or consulates—and will take many forms—nonviolent direct actions, demonstrations, vigils, strikes, teach-ins, and individual initiatives. An information clearinghouse now exists. Send a description of your planned activities (and a statement of solidarity, if you wish) by Feb 15th and copies will be sent out to all participating groups. American Peace Test encourages all Green groups and activists to get involved in the Nevada Test Site action.

Clearinghouse: Bay Area Peace Test, P. O. Box 40712, San Francisco, CA 94140, USA or PeaceNet: bapt, or Telex # 157239503.

—In solidarity, American Peace Test, USA and the Nevada Movement, USSR

Just Released!

"Free Zone: Democracy Meets the Nuclear Threat"
The first comprehensive documentary video on the international nuclear free zone movement, is now available. This fantastic and inspiring new 57-minute video includes footage from over a dozen countries. To order send \$32 ppd to David L. Brown, 2114 Golden Gate Ave, San Francisco CA.



Georgian Greens Struggle to Save Environment

Zurab Zhvania, V.P., Green Movement, Georgia, U.S.S.R.

Nature is our Lord. So our ancestors believed. Our culture was not only a culture of contacts of every member of our society with each other, but that of society in the whole with its environment. Choked up with the flood of new information and technocratic ambitions, we have forgotten how to live on our own land today. To look in the face of the future and to come back to the sources—that's our Way. Progress based on the morals of unity with Mother Nature, with the past and the future of our people, progress based on the principles of social

is based on the principle of maximum autonomy. The movement uses both parliamentary and nonparliamentary methods of struggle: electoral campaigns, preparing laws in draft, organizing nationwide discussions of ecologically dangerous projects, conducting mass actions of protest...

From the very beginning, the Movement took part in the fight against the construction of the Transcaucasian Railway that succeeded in August 1988. (The cost of the project was to be 4.5 billion rubles, of which about 80 million had already been

spent.) The protests of the construction of a cascade of hydroelectric power stations on the En g u r i River, culminating in the cancellation of the plant at K h u d o n i, was another great success for the non-violent protest movement. (The cost of this project was to be 600 million rubles, of which about 250 million had already been spent.) The construction of a system of

out the wood. A campaign is being started against the pollution of food products by pesticides, against barbarous exploitation of alpine pastures, the movement for creation of ecomuseums is commenced, alternative projects are advanced in energetics, agriculture, recreation, and charity actions are carried on in orphanages... We are against digging, cutting down, blowing up Nature. In general, we are against reshaping Nature anywhere on our planet.

We are always ready to join you wherever we can be useful. We will always be grateful for your help in our common struggle. Let every person have a chance to enjoy living on Earth. Let all people arrange their lives as they like. LET US COME ALONG. ☙

TOES

many different sectors of the economy (agriculture, foreign aid, energy, resources, urban development, etc.) to codify ideas and information at the TOES 1990 summit conference and exposition. The summit conference is planned for June 1990 in Washington D.C.

Along side the summit conference is planned the Living Economy Exposition. The exposition will showcase projects of social change and environmental improvement. The exposition will provide a visceral experience of what kind of social and ecological relations, institutions and patterns of distribution characterize the living economy.

We are currently contacting individuals and organizations to prepare and present sessions at the 1990 conference. Previewing the TOES summit conference we plan a minimum of three regional programs. Regions currently considering such projects include the California Bay area, Boston, Washington D.C. and New York.

For more information or to participate in the regional or national TOES events, contact:

Larry Martin,
General Coordinator
The Other Economic Summit 1442
Harvard St. W
Washington, DC 20009 ☙



Flag of the Georgian Greens.

Rally and hunger strike to stop hydro-electric dam in Georgia, U.S.S.R.

justice, basic democracy and nonviolence—that's our Way.

The Green Movement of Georgia was born in the spring of 1988. Today it numbers about 6000 members, including students, writers, professors, peasants and journalists. The work of twelve regional and more than one hundred local organizations

irrigation storage ponds (at a cost of about 100 million rubles) has been stopped in Kakheti in Eastern Georgia. A campaign against the use of open pits and quarries in Georgia is being conducted, and the struggle against the cutting down of mountain forests is carried successfully on, with picketers blocking the trucks that are hauling

Save the Volcanos!

The US government proposes to build a Rocket Launch Facility on Kailua-Kona, the Big Island in Hawaii, right next to Hawaii Volcanos National Park. It would release hydrochloric acid and 150 tons of aluminum oxide per launch, endanger marine resources, turtles, birds, the hump-back whale, vegetation and humans.

Ostensibly, the proposal is for a commercial venture but local residents don't believe it because they've seen the military's plans for SDI.

Hawaiians need your support to tell the politicians you don't want rockets in Hawaii! To express your opinion, write:

Senator Donald W. Riegle
105 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Senator Ernest Hollings
125 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Also, please write your own representatives. For more info contact:

Jay Hanson
Citizens with Space Concerns
74-5617 Pawai Pl, #102
Kailua-Kona, HI 96740 ☙

Rees

sustainable level of global economic activity is limited and depends on the condition of the ecosphere. Exceeding limits will reduce future potential in proportion to the damage done to biospheric productivity.

We must move from a society oriented to satisfying the artificial wants of a few to one committed to satisfying the basic needs of all. Our present economic system encourages growth in consumption. By contrast, sustainable development requires that we minimize resource throughput.

Harvest rates in renewable resource sectors must be limited to average rates of production and not be responsive to ever-increasing market demand. Rates of waste discharge (including pesticide use) must be limited to the rate at which ecosystems can absorb and degrade the wastes.

Society at large will have to pay the true costs of goods "production," including costs for ecosystems maintenance and rehabilitation. As society makes these readjustments, special measures must be put in

place to ensure that the burden does not fall unfairly on working people and the poor. The basic necessities for a decent life must be affordable to all. This will require us to recognize that the historic levels of profits may not be compatible with sustainable development.

New systems of national-ecological accounting must be adopted to monitor the ecosphere. Macroeconomic indicators such as Gross National Product only monitor income flows. Other accounts should monitor the state of biologically productive assets and key processes such as pollution absorption, nutrient cycling, soils maintenance, atmospheric regulation and primary production (photosynthesis).

In the absence of such accounts, inter-regional trade obscures people's perception of their obligate dependency on the ecosphere. Importing ecological goods and services means importing carrying capacity from elsewhere and encourages people to destroy their own local ecosystems through "development" at no apparent cost to themselves.

The current system of interregional trade also has implications for achieving global sustainable development. The import of non-surplus carrying capacity from poor regions to wealthy nations occurs at great unaccounted costs. The global financial system compels developing nations to grow cash crops for exports at the expense of local staples production. Sustainable development requires monitoring cumulative impacts and defining development regions for ecological accounting purposes.

Seemingly underdeveloped ecological assets in one region may actually be performing vital functions that are being utilized by people elsewhere. For example, tropical rain forests are of concern to people everywhere as carbon sinks and for their possible role in maintaining atmospheric and climatic equilibria.



Economic growth should no longer be considered a basic element

of social policy. Sustainable development may force significant restructuring of national economies in the developed nations (for example in the petroleum, automotive and forestry sectors). Well documented ecological trends such as atmospheric change, forest dieback and falling per capita food production indicate that we have already breached global carrying capacity. Thus even current levels of economic activity are not sustainable with present technology. Unless benign alternatives are found, people in the industrialized countries may well have to lower their material expectations and even accept a decline in standards to achieve global sustainability.

Social justice and equity considerations may therefore require creative new policies for income redistribution. We may



even have to move beyond paid employment as the means of access to the basic requirements of life to some other system of entitlement. New forms of social safety nets to retrain workers displaced from ecologically unsustainable employment will be required.

Sustainable development reintroduces equity and moral considerations into global economic development. In a limited world, reducing the gap in living standards between the rich and the poor requires that any capacity for future material economic growth be redirected to the third world. Forgiving international debt, aid to rehabilitate tropical ecosystems and programs to develop ecologically appropriate technology for the developing countries are examples of strategies the developed nations might implement to help redistribute global wealth.

Socially sensitive interpretations of sustainable development emphasize the opportunity for a return to community values, local control over resources, community based development and other forms of decentralized governance. This confronts current trends toward concentrated economic power and centralized political decision making. Global sustainable development demands new forms of international cooperation and regulation to ensure ac-

ceptable standards for ecological stability. This is contrary to the current emphasis on competition, exploitation of competitive advantage and deregulation as the means to stimulate world economic growth.

Optimistically, increasing numbers of nations will realize that national security lies more in rehabilitating ecological capital than in retaining military might. Sustainable development presents an opportunity to eliminate the arms race and free up the resources required for planetary rehabilitation. Armaments presently consume a trillion dollars yearly, or more than the total income of the poorest half of humanity. Fifteen per cent of this expenditure would be adequate to begin to move towards global sustainable development.

Conclusion: Difficult Path to a Better World

Most discussion of sustainable development in the sociopolitical mainstream today emphasizes the need to sustain economic growth. The assumption is that we can "account for" the environment through greater efficiency of resource use, improved technology, better pollution control and wider use of environmental assessment. This marginal approach would result in little more than a somewhat better dressed version of the growth bound status quo requiring a minimum of adjustment by either industry or individuals.

In the contrasting light the evidence suggests we may be fast approaching absolute limits to material economic growth. We no longer have the luxury of "trading off" ecological damage for economic benefits if we hope to have a sustainable future. The maintenance of global ecological integrity necessarily becomes our highest priority and must be factored into every local and regional development decision. This is the real meaning of environment-economy integration.

While the conceptual framework merely stresses the obvious—a dependent part cannot grow indefinitely within a limited whole—acceptance that it applies to our ecological dilemma requires a profound shift in societal values and attitudes, and a major restructuring of national and global economies. On the positive side, the attitudinal changes and policy responses suggested herein have the potential to produce a more politically secure, ecologically stable and economically just global society. ☙

Hurley

policy is hurting the majority of people here, too, since the "austerity" measures the U.S. has backed keep Third World countries from buying our exports.

A vastly more significant threat to the rainforest than the activities of the colonists is the increasing activity of Brazilian and transnational corporations: interests, cattle ranchers, and above all, mining companies. Why are they there?

Apart from demanding "austerity" the U.S. government's main approach to handling the debt crisis has been to stimulate debtor countries' export earnings. By selling its products overseas Brazil can earn hard currency to pay the interest on its foreign debt. From this perspective the Amazon has presented itself as a vast arena for exploitation. The U.S. government has been behind the development of strip-mining, the construction of hydroelectric dams to furnish electricity for processing the minerals that are then sold abroad, the granting of tax incentives for cattle ranchers who turn the rainforest into export beef, and other "development" projects that regard the rainforest solely in terms of dollars to be extracted from it. Compared with what is planned for the near future "development" of the Amazon has barely begun. It is extremely important to emphasize the fact that this policy of export-oriented "development" was required by the IMF and the World Bank as a condition for maintaining Brazil's international credit standing. And why does Brazil need an international credit line? Above all because through the process of modernization and "development" Brazil has lost its self-sufficiency in food production and become dependent on the U.S. for imported farm machinery, spare parts, and agricultural chemicals. It comes down, once again, to the absolute urgency of putting food in people's mouths: the U.S. government has explicitly threatened to use "the food weapon," since Truman's presidency a part of U.S. strategic policy, to make Brazil acquiesce in the policies laid down by the IMF and the World Bank.

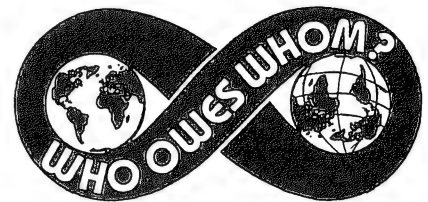
Yet it would be in everyone's long-term interest for the U.S. to support a process of environmentally sound, democratically-based sustainable development.

Nevertheless, the World Bank and the IMF are public institutions, funded by the taxpayers of their member countries. As voting power in the IMF and the World

Bank is proportional to the GNP of the member countries, the United States has the most weighty vote. Thus, U.S. taxpayers are in a relatively strong position to demand that these institutions be submitted to public scrutiny.

Seven years into the "debt crisis", both debtor and creditor nations are suffering the effects of the IMF and World Bank's shortsighted, export-oriented policies. On the occasion of the 1989 World Bank/IMF annual meetings in Washington D.C., representatives of citizen groups from more than fifty countries submitted an impassioned plea for a new development perspective. They urged the World Bank and the IMF's immense economic power be used for "structural transformation" instead of "structural adjustment". This means that they should be guided by the real needs of people and the environment, instead of by profitability. The World Bank and the IMF were also called upon to end the secrecy surrounding their operations and to formally involve effected local communities, such as the inhabitants of the rainforest, in all stages of decision-making. Their guiding principles should be *equity, sustainability, self-reliance, and self-determination*.

Readers may wish to set up study groups to further explore these important issues. They may also write to the Secretary of the Treasury, Nicholas Brady, who sets the policy carried out by the U.S. representatives to the IMF and World Bank: Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady, 1500 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington DC 20220. ☙



Our Standard of
Living has been
made possible by a
generous grant from
the poor people of
the world.

Amazonians

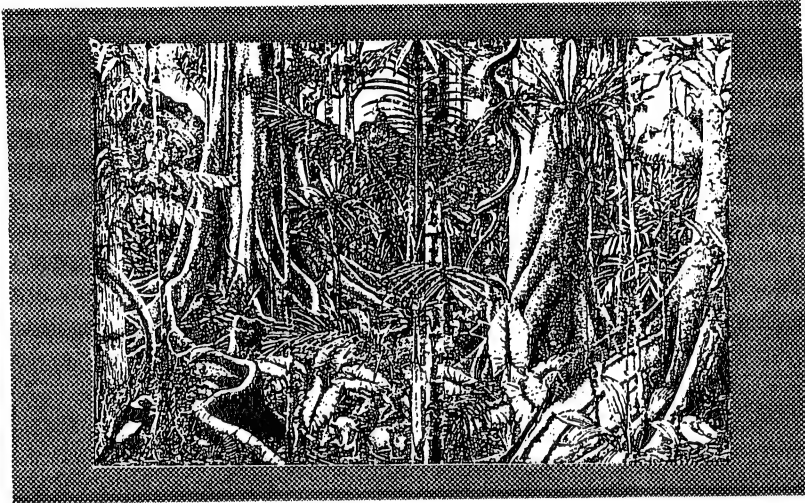
- We propose that you swap "debt for indigenous stewardship" which would allow your organizations to help return areas of the Amazonian rain forest to our care and control.

- We propose establishing a permanent dialogue with you to develop and implement new models for using the rain forest based on the list of alternatives presented with this document.

- We propose joining hands with those members of the worldwide environmentalist community who: recognize our historical role as caretakers of the Amazon Basin; support our efforts to reclaim and defend our traditional territories; accept our organizations as legitimate and equal partners.

- We propose reaching out to other Amazonian peoples such as the rubber tappers, the Brazil nut gatherers, and others whose livelihood depends on the non-destructive extractive activities, many of whom are of indigenous origin.

We propose that you consider allying yourselves with us, the Indigenous Peoples of the Amazon, in defense of our Amazonian homeland. ✚



Gilliam

water, level the forests, wipe out plant and animal species, burn up the fossil fuels, foul the waters, upset the climate and you increase the GNP, as long as your annual balance sheet shows profitable production.

Insofar as the GNP masks these ultimately disastrous losses and keeps growing, it is giving us false and possibly fatal signals about the health of the economy.

Here is another example, from the same textbook, of the narrow view taken by conventional economics: "The cost of producing electricity in a nuclear power plant is less than the cost of producing it by burning oil, gas, or coal."

Does this calculation include the government subsidies to nuclear energy? Does it figure the huge cost of decommissioning nuclear plants at the end of their 30-year life span?

Does it include the costs of storing the lethal radioactive wastes, for which no acceptable place in the United States has been found? Does it account for the costs of

monitoring those wastes for thousands of years?

Nuclear energy may be part of the answer to the greenhouse peril caused by fossil fuels, but when evaluating this and all forms of energy, let's make our decisions on a broader basis than the Bob Cratchit accounting methods used by traditional economists.

On page 171 of this textbook, students will read the view of a lumber executive, quoted with apparent approval, that "timber is a crop." They will not learn that a forest has other functions as well, that it's a balanced ecosystem, a complex society of plants and animals (all of which have intrinsic value) as well as a place for recreation. The forest forms and holds the soil, catches rain and retards the runoff, stores water, affects the climate and absorbs carbon dioxide, reducing the greenhouse effect.

Of course we need lumber, but we have some other needs, too—the Earth it-

self has needs—and those needs should be brought into our decisions about how to care for forests as well as other resources. Some of those needs cannot be measured precisely, but they should be brought into the picture. The profession of economics has done very little about analyzing any of these values.

At the Fairmont conference I asked William M. Hassebrock, president of the Foundation for Teaching Economics, which funded this textbook, about including ecological considerations in teaching materials.

"We're working on that right now," he said. "It's an absolutely crucial point. We're faced with an irresistible force, our economy, meeting an immovable object, our fragile planet. And the whole subject needs more attention."

Having cited certain passages of this textbook as illustrating the need to broaden economics, I want to make it clear that in many other respects the book is admirable and does call attention to environmental problems: "Slowly but surely, we have learned that we pay a price for misusing our environment.... Installing pollution control devices adds to the cost of production. As consumers, we pay for these controls in the higher prices we pay for goods and services; It took human skills to develop the technology that increased production. These same skills can and must be used to lessen the harmful effects of technology on our environment."

In my view there are specific skills or tools economists could develop to decrease the harmful effects of technology. Among them:

- A Net National Product that would account for damage to the biosphere.

- Ways of analyzing development projects (including power plants) to include life-time ecological costs and consequences.

- Proposals for economic incentives to encourage preservation and restoration of the natural systems on which the economy depends.

The purpose would be to blend economics and ecology and to reverse the ongoing destruction of this planet's ability to sustain life.

A few bold economists have ventured in this direction. May their tribe increase.

Reprinted with permission from the *San Francisco Chronicle, This World*, October 15, 1989, p. 17 ✚

Women

dai does not work and is not part of the labor force.

"Cathy, a young, middle-class North American housewife, spends her days preparing food, setting the table, serving meals, clearing food and dishes from the table, washing dishes, dressing and diapering her children, disciplining children, taking the children to day-care or to school, disposing of garbage, dusting, gathering clothes for washing, doing the laundry, going to the gas station and the supermarket, repairing household items, ironing, keeping an eye on or playing with the children, making beds, paying bills, caring for pets and plants, putting away toys, books and clothes, sewing or mending or knitting, talking with door-to-door salespeople, answering the telephone, vacuuming, sweeping, and washing floors, cutting the grass, weeding, and shoveling snow, cleaning the bathroom and the kitchen, and putting her children to bed. Cathy has to face the fact that she fills her time in a *totally* unproductive manner. She, too, is economically inactive, and economists record her as unoccupied."

Tendai and Cathy are compared with Ben, whose "regular duty is to descend to an underground facility where he waits with a colleague, for hours at a time, for an order to fire a nuclear missile," and Mario, a "pimp and a heroin addict in Rome." Ben and Mario, of course, are considered productive and economically active.

Waring not only exposes the biases hidden behind the veil of "objectivity" in the UNSNA, she demonstrates their costs concretely with a barrage of data about the economic system UNSNA supports. Just a few of the many data she cites are the following:

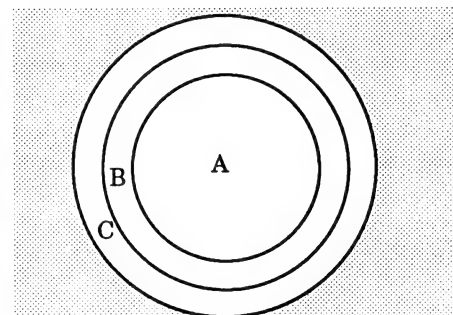
- According to the World Health Organization, water-related diseases claim as many as 25 million lives a year. UNICEF calculates that 15 million children die every year before reaching their fifth birthday. Half of them could be saved if they had access to safe drinking water.
- A 1983 nationwide survey conducted by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency found that trace levels of toxic chemicals were present in nearly 30 percent of the municipal water supplies serving more than ten thousand people.
- One million rainforest species could be extinct by the end of the century.
- It may cost \$500 billion to decom-

mission nuclear plants (as much as they contributed originally): most of this bill will be paid by a generation that did not take part in the decision to build the first round of nuclear power plants and that did not use much of the power generated.

- Every ten minutes in 1980, an Indian woman died of a septic abortion.... Illegal abortion is the leading cause of female deaths in Caracas....

- In 1985 the official estimate of the number of starving in the United States was 34 million people.

As an alternative to the UNSNA, Waring suggests a perspective developed by a Finnish feminist activist, Hilkka Pietilä. "Pietilä's diagram... describes the



Proportions in Finland 1980:

| | Time | Money |
|-------------------------|------|-------|
| A. The free economy | 54% | 35% |
| B. The protected sector | 36% | 46% |
| C. The fettered economy | 10% | 19% |

nonmonetary part of the economy as the *free economy*, since it consists of the work and production that people do voluntarily for the well-being of their families and for pleasure without requesting or receiving pay. The *protected sector* consists of production and work for the home market as well as public services (such as food production, construction of houses and infrastructure, administration, schools, health, transport, and communication). This sector is, in most countries, protected and guided by legislation and official means, and thus the prices and other terms can be determined independently without too much pressure from the world economy. Large scale production for export is usually called the open economy. Pietilä calls it the *fettered economy*, since this is fettered to the world market. The terms of this sector, the prices, competitiveness, demand and so on are determined by the international market."

One of the strong points of Waring's book is that it enrages as it educates. Another

is her global perspective, encompassing First and Third World. A weakness, is her focus on patriarchy and the "international gender conspiracy," and lack of attention to the distinct processes of class and race. Overall, *If Women Counted* is a valuable and very readable feminist introduction to the assumptions and problems of mainstream economic thought. ♣

Save the Forests!

The Environmental Protection Information Center, Inc., needs help from Northern California environmentalists to reform California logging practices. Contact them at:

P.O. Box 397
Garberville, CA 95440
ph: (707) 923-2931
Fax: (707) 923-2590

Contributions (Sorry, not tax-deductible) should be sent to:

Forests Forever
P.O. Box 1488
Redway, CA 95560

Building or Remodelling?

If you are in the market for oil finishes, preservatives, stains, stain pastes, lacquers, shellac, spackles, glues, adhesives, waxes, paints, primers, thinners, cleaners, polishes or natural art materials—and you don't want to use toxins or products from companies which do animal testing or use animal ingredients, then write to:

Livos Plantchemistry
2641 Cerrillos Rd.
Santa Fe, NM 87501
(505) 988-9111



Bioregional

fearful of what is going to happen if we don't change, yet who feel powerless, judged or put down by activists, Greens, the "radical" movement in general. If we judge people, if we make them somehow feel that they are "bad," we risk alienating them. We essentially give them over to the slick party lines of our governments and corporations who are busy putting forth namby-pamby "solutions" that will only serve to prolong our agony, destroying more of earth, annihilating more of her peoples in the process.

It is up to us to take advantage of the growing awareness and levels of concern and turn people around to the necessity of changing what "business as usual" looks like. We will not do this by judging, by making people feel that they are the "bad guys" or stupid.

It is time to remember. Thomas Berry says we must "recreate the human at the species level." We are so out of balance that most people are even uncomfortable accepting the fact of our being considered a species.

Somehow it lumps us into the same category with worms and ants and crabgrass. Yes! And to me it feels wonderful. Why? Because it is empowering. Years ago, when the reality of what it meant to be one species among many here really clicked for me, I felt such overwhelming relief that I cried. I'm not alone! I'm part of it, connected. It opened up a whole new world of relationships and partnerships for me. A whole new community of friends to converse with, to learn from and to take comfort and solace from in the hard times.

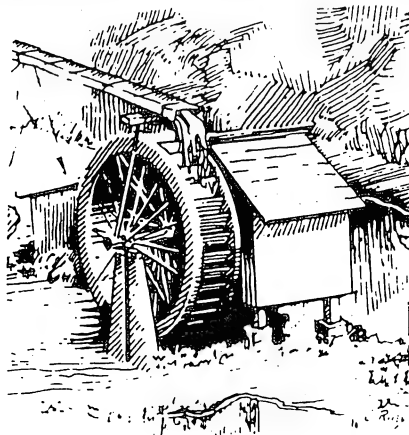
What does this have to do with economics? To me, everything. If we are in doubt about the effectiveness or impact of a project or policy, we need only look to the earth to see if it will accomplish what we desire. Aldo Leopold wrote, "Examine each question in terms of what is ethically and aesthetically right, as well as what is expedient. A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise."

Each place on Earth speaks with a different voice. Indigenous peoples have not lost the ability to hear earth's voice. Most of us have. This is why we feel the incredible need for "blueprints" and plans to save the earth, or create jobs or housing or whatever the need is in our communities.

The needs are all legitimate. The means of accomplishing them will vary depending on where the community is, on the history of the place, on the climate, the culture, the ways peoples have lived in this place over generations and generations and on what the vision is for the future. Only the community itself, the whole Earth community can decide what models, what plans, what blueprints will be appropriate for it. This is why decentralized decision-making, inclusiveness, respect and cooperation are essential.

This is why we must open ourselves to the other relations in our community, why we must remember what it means to be a member of the human species. It is the only way we can create an economy as if the Earth really mattered.

It is a very practical yet difficult process that most of us are only now learning. It is a skill we all have, deep within us. Just as a tree grows from a seed into its full won-



der, so do humans have the inherent ability to grow into our full wonder. It is time we awakened to this. It is time we reached out with an open heart to all members of our species, even those who are very different from us in painful ways. It is time we acted on our knowledge that we are all in this together, that to a greater or lesser degree we are all responsible for where we are and therefore have the power to change things. We need everybody. The job facing us is enormous. In the words of Joanna Macy, "Remember again and again the old cycles of partnership. Draw on them in this time of trouble. By your very nature and the journey you have made, there is in you deep knowledge of belonging. Draw on it now in this time of fear. You have Earth-bred wisdom of your inter-existence with all that is. Take courage in it now and power, that we may help each other awaken in this time

of peril."

Susan Meeker-Lowry
64 Main St., 2nd floor
Montpelier, VT 05602, USA

Economics as if the Earth Really Mattered is the name of Meeker-Lowry's book, published by New Society Publishers.



Bioregional Economics

At the Third North American Bioregional Congress, the committee entrusted with bringing forward resolutions on economics produced a very eloquent statement of what the bioregional economic vision is, in philosophical terms. However, there was one phrase which a number of people found problematic. It read: "We must redirect the energies and power of the old *industrial/consumerist* system into emerging sustainable systems" (my emphasis).

There is something of a debate in the Green movement over whether the intensified rape of the earth stems from industrialism or from capitalism. In some ways, this debate is rather like the proverbial blind men who examined the elephant. Each is privy to a part of the truth. Industry refers to technology. Insofar as the contradiction between humanity and nature is mediated through technology, it is technology which is directly oppressive to, and destructive of, nature. Capitalism, on the other hand, refers to a system of ownership which, in its western variant, relies heavily on the market as a mechanism for distributing resources. Ultimately, the uses to which technology gets put is determined by this system (and by the state which has its own objectives).

A certain amount of industry will be necessary to sustain life, even in a bioregional society. "Industrial" refers to a process of producing something by means other than handicraft. Undoubtedly, solar cells, wind turbine parts, and certain kinds of medical equipment (not to mention steel and other materials) will be produced by something resembling an industrial process—though this will occur in small, decentralized worker and community-run plants which are as socially and environmentally benign as possible.

I think the committee members were attempting to get at the so-called "high technologies," like nuclear power plants and huge power dams, which are highly

centralized and anti-ecological in their thrust. These are indeed a problem. With the exception of nuclear power plants, high technology projects tend to be very profitable for those who build them, and tend to keep power and profit concentrated amongst a relatively small number of people. Since reliance on high technology is common to both capitalist and "socialist" systems, it's very easy to see why bioregional economists might wish to define the problem in more inclusive terms.

But, since industrial techniques will be employed in a bioregional society, the use of the term "industrialism" confuses rather than clarifies the issue. The real problem is with the system which employs the most destructive and hierarchical of technologies for the purpose of amassing capital.

In my view, the Soviet Union and the United States are both capitalist societies. "Capitalism" denotes a society where the purpose of production is to amass capital. There are two kinds of capital: physical capital (factories, machinery, etc.) and money capital. In the Soviet system, physical capital is amassed in pursuit of ideological and political objectives. In Western societies, the goal is to achieve an increment on one's money capital—physical capital is a mere means to that end. In each instance, working people and nature are mere "resources" to be exploited on the altar of capital accumulation.

Contrary to popular opinion, the state has always been the "handmaiden" of capital. From the very beginning, the state has paid for the infrastructure (railways, roads, etc.) necessary for capitalist development, has awarded lucrative military contracts, and given tax credits, grants and interest-free loans to corporations—all ways for effecting the transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich.

As with industrialism, the characterization of "consumerism" as the problem falls short. Consumerism is a product of capitalism. It took decades of brainwashing to entrench the consumerist ethic (for the background to this, and the resistance which was encountered, see Stuart Ewen's *Captains of Consciousness*). Like high technology, consumerism, once it was brought into existence, developed a momentum of its own.

Bioregionalists in North America seek to replace the market economy with a moral economy, one where people are not alien-

ated from the land, and the land is not alienated from people in the interests of capital accumulation, and where the goal of economic activity is maximizing individual, social and ecological health. A bioregional economy would be a patchwork of community and regionally-owned and run enterprises, worker coops, and family-owned businesses. Money and markets could be among the potential mechanisms for exchange provided they did not become the *raison d'être* for economic activity.

We have less than a year left before NABC IV. We should use the time to promote a dialogue on economic theory and program. Clarity in this area is essential for the success of our movement.

—by Don Alexander
241 Weber St-W
Kitchener, Ontario
N2H 4A5 Canada ☙



Big Mountain

Greens adopted a resolution to form a Dineh Green Alliance Support Project. Among the tasks of the new group would be on-site support and nonviolent defense in co-operation with the Dineh community as well as co-sponsoring an Ecological Development Conference with the Dineh Greens. For more information contact the Left Green Network, PO Box 372, West Lebanon, NH 03784, (802)295-1544.

The Veterans Peace Action Teams (VPAT) is sponsoring a Veterans Peace Convoy to Big Mountain in the spring of 1990. Participants, material aid and donations are needed. Founded in 1986 as a result of the Veterans' Fast for Life, the Peace Convoys have delivered several hundred tons of material aid to Nicaragua. For 1990, the group has targeted Big Mountain. For more information on the Peace Convoys, contact VPAT, PO Box 170670, San Francisco CA 94117, (415)753-2130. Regional contacts are available through this number.

To contact the Big Mountain Support Group directly, call (303)333-3428 (Support Group) or (602)779-1560 (legal). ☙

Hatcher

North Carolina, where he was jailed to await trial.

On November 14, A North Carolina Superior Court judge disallowed William Kunstler and two other attorneys from the Center for Constitutional Rights, as well as Barry Nikal, a professor of constitutional law from the University of North Carolina, from representing Hatcher. In a preliminary hearing on the case, Nikal was held in contempt of court, and Hatcher was shackled and threatened with gagging. Denied legal representation of his choice, Hatcher is forced to defend himself at his second trial. As of this writing, no trial date has been set.

The International Indian Treaty Council is urging people to write to North Carolina state authorities and express concern for Eddie Hatcher's safety and outrage at this violation of his constitutional protection against double jeopardy. Letters can be sent to: Gov. James Martin, Office of the Governor, Raleigh NC 27603.

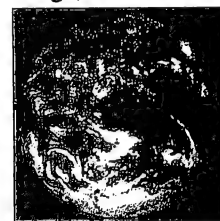
For more information, contact the West Coast Eddie Hatcher Defense Committee (I.I.T.C.), 710 Clayton #1, San Francisco CA 94117, (415)566-0251.

Funds are needed to mount a successful defense. They should be directed to: Robeson Defense Committee, PO Box 1389, Pembroke, NC 28372. ☙

Earth Flag

Would you like to have your own Earth Flag? Or borrow one for special events? Contact:

John Sanbonmatsu
Earth Flag Company
33 Roberts Rd.
Cambridge, MA 02138



*We pledge allegiance to the vision
Of a free and just society
And to the world in which we live
One planet, many people, at peace
With reverence and love for life*

—Blair Sandler

in search of GREENER TIMES

The Newsletter of the Green Committees of Correspondence

Reforestation and the Rainforests

Suzanne Head

Ecological restoration is essential if Planet Earth is to remain habitable by humans, and reforestation is probably the most urgently needed form of restoration at this time. However, how and where reforestation is executed can make all the difference. There are two axioms to keep in mind when reforestation is discussed in relation to rainforests. The first axiom is that a tree farm is not the same as a rainforest. The second is that reforestation is not an alternative to the preservation of tropical forests. No matter how sophisticated reforestation techniques may become (and they certainly need to become more sophisticated than they are now), they cannot emulate the ecological structure of a rainforest and should never become an excuse for tropical deforestation. There are some indigenous tribes still existing that know how to regenerate rainforest in the patches that they have cleared for cultivation. The Kayapó in southern Amazonia even know how to create patches of rainforest in the open cerrado (a savanna-like area) that is interspersed with the forest throughout their region. But in these cases there are large areas of original, intact forest nearby or surrounding the open patches, so that the people work with the forest to create more forest.

Those trained in Western science, however, have no idea how the tribespeople do it. Lacking many generations' worth of rainforest wisdom, scientific forestry's attempts at tropical reforestation have met with little success in the moist, closed-canopy rainforests. Western science has studied only one percent of the known rainforest species, and doesn't even know how many species actually exist. Thus, we remain immensely ignorant of the details of tropical ecosystem regeneration. But we do know that even the most basic, generic characteristics of rainforests make reforestation difficult.

Tropical rainforests are the oldest terrestrial ecosystems, the most diverse in life forms, and the most complex. Although their soils are ancient and mostly infertile, they have the highest concentrations of sheer biomass on the planet, not to mention variety. All of the species within these ancient forests are linked together through complex relationships, worked out through millenia of competition and cooperation.

Rainforests, therefore, are not just trees. Over a period of from 50 to 100 million years, they have evolved as integrated organisms—or, if you will, as vital organs within the organism that is the Earth—which regulate and stabilize their own climates, as well as perform this service for the rest of the planet. Like other forests, they stabilize topsoil, maintain watersheds, control flooding, and provide clean water; and they clean, cool, and moisten the air. But rainforests do even more: they play a major role in the Earth's hydrological cycles, provide the primary carbon sinks (capturing atmospheric carbon dioxide), maintain the planetary gene pool, and provide the only habitat for at least half of the Earth's species.

Rainforests also tend to be site specific. The Amazon Basin, for example, contains a mosaic of eight different



forest types, or phytogeographic zones, each with their own diversity of species and their own soils, with their own biogeographical history. Due to climatic fluctuations over tens of millions of years, most tropical regions developed specialized characteristics that are not replicated anywhere else, which means that a great many rainforest species are endemic, existing only within a specific home range. In the Hawaiian rainforest, for example, 95 to 98 percent of the species are endemic—completely unique to those islands. When large sections of rainforest are destroyed, species extinctions may occur, causing essential links in the ecosystem to be lost forever.

When a rainforest is clearcut, which is happening at an accelerating rate throughout the tropics, conditions change very quickly. The now-exposed soil dries up and erodes rapidly, and the hydrological cycles maintained by the forest also change. These changes cause cycles of drought and flooding, which make it even more difficult to replant the already poor soils. If clearcut forest soils have been grazed by cattle, it becomes nearly impossible for anything to grow in them except weeds, shrubs, and exotic grasses. The rich diversity will never be regained.

These are some of the reasons that it is so difficult to replant the rainforest. Western science may be capable of restoring a certain amount of productivity to some degraded lands, especially if those areas are not extensive, but that is quite different from restoring the natural forest to its original diversity. Without the rainforest's biodiversity, essential environmental services are lost—far beyond those that counteract the greenhouse effect.

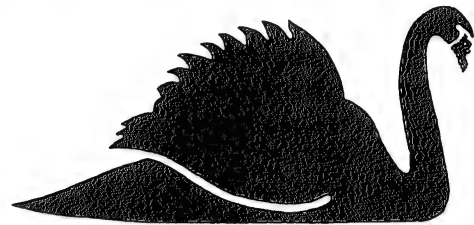
These are lessons that commercial forestry has learned but slowly. This is partly because commercial forestry has traditionally conceived of the "normal" forest as a uniform monocrop of a commercially valuable tree species that can be harvested for the international timber trade. The industrial model of forestry may offer some relief from global warming in temperate regions (though, even there, at a great cost to biodiversity), but it isn't viable in the tropics where plantations tend to degrade the soils and succumb to diseases and insect pests. The trees that do succeed on plantations tend also to be commercially inferior. It's like transplanting a heart without hooking up all the arteries, veins, and nerves. Nevertheless, something must be done to counteract erosion and soil compaction on cleared and abandoned land that is not regenerating itself. Reforestation with native species is time-consuming, prohibitively expensive, and practically unfeasible on extensive tracts. In such cases, reclaiming degraded lands and making them productive with simplified and economically useful tree cover can take pressure off remaining intact rainforests.

The best restoration programs are those with a conservation component. By improving timber production on abandoned lands and educating local communities about the values and services offered by intact ancestral forests, tree planting programs can serve to protect what remains of the rainforests. Unfortunately, such programs are the exception, not the rule.

Beyond ecological restoration, there is another solution to the problems of deforestation that is even less popular, but one that also offers the most hope for sustaining our planet home. That is to allow the indigenous inhabitants to retain their ancestral rights to the ancestral forests. If these keepers of the forest were allowed to continue what they have been doing for generations, they would preserve not only the forest in all its biodiversity, but also their priceless knowledge of the foods, medicines, and other products that the rainforest has to offer the world.

Suzanne Head is the information officer at the Rainforest Action Network and the co-editor, with Robert Heinzman, of a forthcoming book on the causes and consequences of and solutions to, tropical deforestation. Lessons of the Rainforest will be published by Sierra Club Books in March 1990.

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"Yellow Dragon" Threatening China

Nancy Nash, GT Correspondent, Hong Kong

While Chinese forestry officials boast of the success of afforestation efforts, Forestry Research Institute researchers say that only 10% of trees planted in the past 25 years survive. The world average forest area per capita is 1.07 ha., but in China it is only 0.13 ha. Official figures show 12% of the land covered by forest, but He Bo Chuan, author of *China in the Valley*, a recent book cataloging environmental conditions in China, says the true figure is lower, and will drop to about 8.3% by 2000.

The result of depletion of forest land is growth of the "yellow dragon," the desertification that is destroying farm land and water resources. Increasing population is exacerbating the problem. If the trend is not soon reversed, researchers say, China will soon be unable to provide sufficient food for its people.

China in the Valley author He claims that increasing population, destruction of ecological balance, and environmental pollution are the most pressing problems facing China today. His conclusions are dismissed by many of the government's ministry officials, but data were collected from research institutes all over the country over a period of three years. Most researchers claim that the government will have to turn words into action if catastrophe is to be avoided.

(China Review, May 1989)

Rainforests, the Greenhouse Myth, and the Reforestation Fantasy

George Marshall,
Rainforest Information Centre, Lismore, Australia

The interrelation of rainforests and climate is exceedingly complex and is even less understood than the mechanisms of global climate. Whilst the vagaries of the weather have long had a major share of the headlines, no one climatic issue has ever received quite so much attention as the Greenhouse effect.

It is now well known that the build-up of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is a major contributor to the Greenhouse effect. It is also widely known that living plants absorb carbon dioxide as part of the photosynthetic process and convert the carbon into organic compounds whilst liberating the oxygen. It is therefore unsurprising that any article on the Greenhouse Effect will invariably mention plants, in particular trees, and especially the largest conglomerations of dense forest, tropical rainforest.

Thus one magazine tells us that "trees are the main agents for absorbing carbon dioxide from the environment."¹ Another tells us that "these vast Edens help us to regulate the atmosphere by storing carbon dioxide through photosynthesis."² Another that "the most efficient CO₂ scrubbers are trees."³ The *New York Herald* has been repeatedly making this point. In 1986 we read "forests, whose growth removes CO₂ from the atmosphere, should be protected and expanded."⁴ By 1988 they were prepared to go further: "about half [of the CO₂ sent into the atmosphere] is absorbed by the oceans and forests."⁵

Those most eager to argue for the conservation of rainforests are only too ready to draw this link and to commit themselves further. An alternative newspaper tells us "rainforests are vital suppliers of oxygen to the atmosphere ... the Amazon forest alone supplies 40% of the oxygen produced by land plants."⁶ A recent handout for the newly formed Rainforest Foundation in Australia claims that "The Amazon provides one quarter of the world's oxygen." Their media release makes no mention of species extinction. Instead it says repeatedly, "we will save the oxygen supply for our children."⁷ To be fair, the Rainforest Information Centre makes claims of this nature in our publications too. One leaflet says "the rainforests act as the planet's lungs, cleaning the air, maintaining the CO₂ / Oxygen."

Whilst it is indeed tempting to make such claims, the evidence suggests otherwise. Catherine Caufield, acknowledged to be one of the world's leading experts on rainforest says, "it is a widespread myth that rainforests produce a large proportion of the Earth's oxygen, that they are the green lungs of the planet. In fact, mature forests are in equilibrium. They consume as much oxygen as they produce through photosynthesis."⁸

Trees do indeed take CO₂ from the air and release oxygen, but only so long as they are alive and growing. As

soon as they die, the timbers decay through the operation of bacteria, which break down the biomass and return the carbon to the air. In other words, the amount of carbon entering the mature forest in CO₂ is equal to the amount leaving through decomposition. "As there is no increase in the amount of carbon stored in the forest, there can be no increase in the level of oxygen in the atmosphere."⁹ Removing fallen timbers before they rot is no answer to the Greenhouse Effect. Quite apart from the damage that this would cause to the nutrient cycle, "even if some of the trees are made into furniture all wood eventually decays."¹⁰ Trees are but temporary stores of carbon in an endless cycle.

It is undoubtedly true that rainforests, such as the Amazon, do absorb vast quantities of carbon. It can also be argued that they are acting as lungs in that they do take CO₂ and convert it in a similar way to our own lungs. It is, however, arguable that they are net consumers of carbon, and very doubtful that they consume carbon on any scale sufficient to affect the Greenhouse effect. To neglect to mention that they also produce correspondingly huge quantities of carbon dioxide is naive at best, and could be construed as a deliberate attempt to misinform.

The Reforestation Fantasy

Unfortunately, the short-term perspective that regards forests as infinite carbon sponges has produced another great fallacy of the greenhouse debate — the reforestation fantasy. In brief this envisages the build-up of atmospheric CO₂ being offset by vast plantations of fast-growing trees.

The thought of vast world-saving plantations is guaranteed to appeal to the same fevered megalomaniac tendencies as do larger and larger dams, bombs, mining developments.

Dr. Edward Linacre, one of the Australian experts on the Greenhouse Effect, acknowledges the grounds for defending rain forests. However he adds, "from the point of view simply of the Greenhouse Effect, rainforests should be chopped down and replaced by fast growing eucalyptus, which are continually harvested."¹¹ One doubts that all researchers have Dr. Linacre's sense of irony. I feel a chill when I read Robert McNeal of NASA saying, "if only half the Amazon basin were covered with [plantation] forests it would absorb 20% of the carbon that is released into the atmosphere."¹² The Amazon basin should be covered with mixed species rainforest alone.

Of course there are excellent reasons for growing trees. Needed in the tropics: 100 million ha. for soil conservation, 56 million ha. for fuelwood, 10 million ha. for timbering.¹³ We

Continued on pg 35



Planting an Urban Forest

Peter Gradjansky, Friends of the Urban Forest, San Francisco

In San Francisco, Friends of the Urban Forest (FUF) enables neighborhoods to plant large numbers of trees efficiently and well, and at bargain prices. To do so, we make best use of resources, our own and the neighbors'. FUF staff time focuses on work that neighbors could not efficiently or knowledgeably do for themselves. This includes the fundraising that covers about half the cost of a planting, preparation of informational materials and publicity, and all the tasks that require technical expertise: managerial skills, our special equipment, our volunteer corps, and dealing with contractors and regulations.

Neighbors help both with planning and planting. At two meetings they select species of trees and plan logistics. They participate on planting day and afterward. By their labor, neighbors keep their own costs low and gain satisfaction from planting and caring for their own trees, as well as from working together to achieve a tangible improvement to their community.

Any local resident may begin the process by approaching neighbors, getting them involved, and ensuring that they know what to expect and what is expected of them. When neighbors have signed a petition requesting at least 30 trees, FUF sets a planting date and leads a community meeting in the neighborhood. We show slides illustrating our planting process and maintenance suggestions, and dis-

cuss potential problems and how they can be averted. We also show species we think will be most suitable and help the neighbors to choose among them, and to be realistic about how many they can care for. While we want to plant as many trees as possible, it is very important that they be appropriate species, and dependably watered and cared for, so that all the trees become positive examples of what a street tree can be.

Those who are ready submit applications, and we plan for planting day. Utilities are asked to mark their under-sidewalk lines in the area. Then staff, with a city urban forestry inspector, mark the spots where trees can be planted. A second brief meeting gives everyone a chance to protest locations and find satisfactory compromises before sidewalks are cut and removed.

On the day before planting, trees, other materials, and tools are assembled and holes are augered so that at 8 o'clock on a Saturday morning we can all come together to plant. We distribute everything around the neighborhood, then regroup to demonstrate our technique by planting the first tree. Then the neighbors are divided into groups that plant 8-12 trees, led by a volunteer. By midday all the trees are in, braced with stakes and rubber ties, and watered, and we all share a celebratory potluck lunch, which we ask the neighbors to provide as a thank-you to our volunteers.

Unfortunately, planting a San Francisco street tree is only half the battle. Despite carefully developed planting details and care instructions, wind, automobiles, and vandals pose constant hazards, to which FUF responds with a network of emergency maintenance volunteers and free telephone advice. We replace trees at wholesale cost, and keep careful records of every tree we plant.

FUF has also worked with municipal government to write and enforce an ordinance which protects street trees from vandalism, and from removal or drastic pruning without a public hearing process. The law also requires adequate maintenance by property owners. We also advocate for trees with various public agencies, challenging unnecessary removals and encouraging and seeking funding for additional trees.

Because public support and awareness are so important, we have developed an annual series of urban tree tours, as well as a "City Trees" curriculum now in use in San Francisco schools and others.

While planting individual neighborhoods remains the core of FUF's program, we feel we must work on every possible front towards a future where the importance of trees will be an accepted premise of city planning, municipal budgets, and the personal values of all San Franciscans.



Argentina's Nuclear Trip

Miguel Grinberg, GT Correspondent

Last August, Argentina's newly-elected president Carlos Menem visited Brazil and ratified with Brazilian president José Sarney pre-existent agreements for nuclear cooperation. The development of the nuclear industries of both countries make them potential manufacturers of the A-bomb. Argentina's nuclear lobby, (which includes, as in Brazil, the military) joins forces with the Peronista nationalists to further all nuclear enterprises. Argentina's nuclear operation includes two nuclear power plants, three atomic research centers, several experimental reactors and uranium refineries. A mini-reactor and food irradiation plants are being offered to Third World countries. An Atomic Center was built in Perú by Argentine specialists, and based on that, a cooperative agreement was signed with China. A state run company in Córdoba is trying to export food irradiation plants. The current Nuclear Plan results from a 1979 decree of the junta, and was not voted on by the congress, as it was closed in 1976 by the junta.

Argentina's nukes have suffered the same sort of problems that have plagued atomic power elsewhere. For ex-

ample, Atucha I has been stopped for almost one year, due to technical failure, and the site chosen for the Gastre nuclear dump is a certified geologically unsafe area.

Meanwhile a growing network of ecologists and professionals are gathering to denounce the whole operation. (A 1980 article in *Today Magazine* in Canada warned of the dangers of a "Nazi A-bomb" in Argentina.)

The Anti-Nuclear Movement of Chubut (MACH) has been very active against the Gastre nuclear dump, while the Professional Council of Geologists established that the site is geologically unsafe. The National Network for Ecologist Action and the Argentine Confederation of Environmental NGOs has come out against the Ezeiza Plutonium Plant, and has been backed by the 25,000-member Buenos Aires Medical Federation. Recent media schedules have included room for anti-nuclear activists, and several senators and representatives are demanding explanations from the executive.

Paradoxically, a new political party named the Frente Humanista Verde (Green Humanist Front) has backed the nuclear option, calling anti-nuke folks "dupes of German and European Greens who try to stop Argentina's technological development." At the same time, when they go abroad they claim to be anti-nuke.

Argentina's real Greens organized in October 1988, with observers such as Greenpeace and Nairobi's Environment Liaison. The second meeting is being prepared in Brazil.

Greens in Moscow

Jürgen Maier, *Die Grünen*, GT correspondent

Just ten days before Chernobyl a delegation of the German *Die Grünen* visited Moscow and agreed with the CPSU to hold a joint public seminar on nuclear energy, the first part in Germany, the second in Moscow. It took quite some time to organize this unprecedented thing, but in January a CPSU delegation headed by Central Committee member and now *Pravda* editor Ivan Frolov visited West Germany for the first part of the seminar. It was hardly surprising that the pro-nuclear views of the Soviets clashed heavily with the Greens and the public from the anti-nuclear movement. More interesting was the second part in Moscow this September. Not only the 24-person Green delegation from Germany but also many participating ecological groups from all over the Soviet Union passionately discussed and disagreed with the Soviet scientists and CPSU representatives. *Die Grünen* used the opportunity to establish lots of contacts with these groups.

This democratic dialogue already was quite a success. However, it was shocking to see the Soviet government basically keeping its pro-nuclear line and to hear even officials arguing that another Chernobyl will be inevitable, but that they have learned from the first one and the damage will be considerably reduced next time! Most Soviet scientists and officials seemed unable to understand the socio-political dimensions of nuclear energy and just dealt with it on purely technical terms. However, something like that would have been impossible just a few years ago. Glasnost proceeds, but in terms of ecology, the Soviet government still has a long way to come. Like so many other governments.



Greens Network Meeting

*Rick Davis, GT Correspondent
from Japan Environment Monitor*

The Greens Network met on 19 August 1989 in Tokyo to discuss post-election finances, organizational topics, weak points in Green election strategy, and the future of Japan's Green movement itself. This meeting was also attended by several members of the Network for Life, which had gone together with the Greens Network to form the Green and Life Network. Later meetings didn't alter the state of "treading water" that set in after elections.

One strong (self)-criticism was that the network has failed to live up to its name as a network, and that the Greens have thus failed to live up to their own ideals. While all the nodes in a network are supposed to be acting in an autonomous but coordinated fashion, what actually happened was that most of the work was done by a handful of dedicated people in a few centralized locations, with the rest of the people following passively. On the other hand, this was actually the first time that the Japanese Greens had acted on such a large scale. Many admitted that they had had no idea of the level of organization, the time, or the money needed to run an election campaign (There's something we can learn from the right-wingers, someone noted wryly).

As the election campaign progressed, some noted, the Green and Life Network became removed from its original purpose of network activities for expanding the Green movement, instead getting caught up completely with the election itself.

Everyone seemed to agree, based upon their contacts

with people throughout the country, that there is a great potential demand for a "Green Party" in Japan, but that too few people even know of the Greens' existence.

Eighty-one-year-old Koga Yoshio, the Green mentor who is now out of the hospital but a bit slower than usual, remarked to our correspondent that some of the Japanese Greens "still think they are a copy of the West German Greens," and do not have clear ideas about what needs to be done, and how to go about doing it (in Japan). "That is why they act indecisively," he said.

Similarly, another person at the meeting said that in the heat of the election the Greens allowed themselves to forget their basic values and purpose. Finally, it was pointed out that many Japanese still think of planting trees or simple conservation activities when they hear "Green," and have no idea that the "Greens" stand for a total, organic view of society.

As to the restructuring of Japan's Green movement, there is little doubt that will have to wait, most probably until April of 1990. Koga himself wants to combine (or "recombine") the Japan Green Party with the Japan Green Federation, which will heal the unfortunate split which occurred in 1984, when the party was only one year old.

It has been more or less decided that the Network for Life will be disbanded and its huge membership transferred wholesale to the Green and Life Network, but this cannot be done for some time yet as all Japan's Green organizations are still saddled with heavy election debts.

The problem of organizational naming is another problem. Will the reunited Green Party be called "Japan Green Party," "Japan Green Federation," or something else? Or will they combine the whole thing into the "Japan Greens Network?" There is also the matter of renaming the Green and Life Network.

The final, and stickiest problem, is that presented by the fake "Green Party." There is as yet little concrete information on this "Green Party," except that there is nothing "Green" about it but the name. Rumor has it that it is controlled either by the Moonies or the Siloist Movement. Word has it that they recruit social dropouts, bring them into the organization, and have them living in large groups where they are allowed to have little or no personal property. They are rumored to be subjected to some kind of thought control like the Moonies. The author can attest to the unusual nature of their mannerisms in their street appearances. The party made off with a good number of votes, and much to the chagrin of the real Greens were apparently even awarded the votes with ballots reading "Green" in Japanese hiragana characters, which should have gone to the Green and Life Network. There appears to be confusion elsewhere as well, as even Sara Parkin's recent book, *Green Parties — An International Guide*, lists the "Green Party," which must be contrasted with the real Greens in the Japan Green Party.

Ontario Greens Launch Campaign Against Overpackaging

Frank deJong, GT Correspondent

The fast food industry is guilty of gross overpackaging, generating huge piles of paper, plastic, and styrofoam daily. In November, Greens converged on selected McDonald's outlets to raise awareness of the issue.

Ontario's blue-box recycling of bottles, cans and newspapers seems to have reached a threshold at 2.5% of the waste stream. If Ontario is to reach its goal of cutting waste by 25% by 1992, it must eliminate overpackaging, which accounts for about 35% of garbage.

Overpackaging clogs landfills and misuses resources, including forests and petroleum. In Ontario, McDonald's still uses ozone-destroying CFC-22 in spite of a promise to stop by February 1989.

The Ontario Greens campaign materials include a comparison of the outcome of locally owned vs. chain restaurants showing that locally owned are far more supportive of Green ideals.

Auroville: Greening a Desert

John Pennington with Alan Lithman

The first settlers of Auroville looked out over the parched and barren plain with some trepidation in their hearts. The fierce south Indian sun baked the red clay of the plateau brick hard, the only greenery being lonely bits of hardy scrub. The fertile soil had been run into the Bay of Bengal by all the monsoons since the British, leaving craggy gullies that roared with dirt-red water during the monsoon.

Fundamental tasks of formidable difficulty lay ahead. But these were stubborn people. They set about tackling the very real task of surviving in such harsh surroundings, leaving theories to others. The land had to be restored and made to support growing things, water supplied, housing built, and a supportive social structure set in place.

Auroville will soon be 22 years old, and as an experiment in social living and a demonstration of the powers and difficulties of restoration it is unequalled. Old-timers see the wealth of trees, bushes, and other green growing things, hear the songs of many birds, and smell the scents of many tropical flowers — none of which were there before — and are amazed.

The vision of Auroville as an experimental community grew from the spiritual and evolutionary perspective of Sri Aurobindo. He was a political activist turned spiritual revolutionary who, prior to his passing in 1950, helped to forge a free India. Mira Alfassa, his partner in this vision, conceived of Auroville and proposed it to the Indian Government. On February 28, 1968, on a desolate patch of barren ground, the community of Auroville was founded.

When the first settlers of Auroville began work, it quickly became apparent that Auroville, the City of the Dawn, could not survive, let alone thrive, on ravaged land. Repairing the soil and restoring the depleted water table were of paramount importance. Mere idealist abstractions retreated into the background; the people were faced with the living realities of setting down their roots on the ruined land, the relentless heat, and the daily problems of survival. But the sort of person who would live in Auroville is just the sort who would grow trees where none had stood for a century, where the soil was so poor that it needed to be supplemented with compost just to support any sort of life, where trees had to be watered daily for at least a year, and sometimes had to

be replanted five times before a tap root took hold.

There is an old saying, "Better a one-dollar tree in a five-dollar hole than a five-dollar tree in a one-dollar hole." In Auroville's ruined soil, "five-dollar" holes with loosened soil mixed with compost and other organic matter were dug. Timing is important in tree planting. Bare roots must be carefully nurtured, and must not dry out, no mean task in a land where the sun shines hard and the temperature soars. The fragile seedling must be carefully settled and thoroughly watered. A "mini-bund" circle of soil is built up around the new planting, to keep the precious water contained where it will do the most good. Plantings are mostly done in more mild weather, but if the temperature soars unexpectedly it may be necessary to place something to shade the newly-planted seedling. Each and every day the tree must be watered, because it is defenseless and unprotected from the harsh sun. And if one day as you water the new tree you see that it has died anyway, you know that another must be planted.

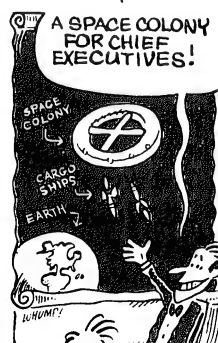
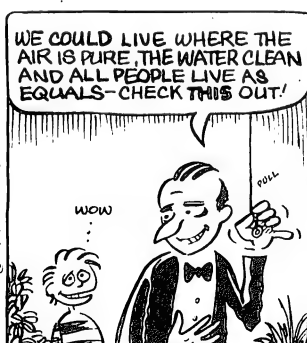
The settlers weren't environmental experts with ready-made plans developed and researched at universities, but soon a strategy was devised. The first trees planted were the hardiest and fastest growing. In order to allow grasses to come back, areas with natural fences were planted first, or watchmen guarded them. Since regeneration is more rapid in the tropics, this protection allowed for the swift recovery of nature in these areas.

Protection meant not only guarding against the ravages of erosion and heat, but also meant chasing off hungry goats and cattle, shepherds (almost no land in India is fenced), and foragers for food, water, and fuel. Nearby villagers were used to cutting down whatever stood when they needed it for cooking. For them, the goings-on were strange, a complete contrast from their daily struggle to provide food, water, and cooking fuel.

Over the years, hundreds of thousands of trees were watered daily from bullock carts with 50-gallon drums of water on them. The first water had to be hauled from a village 3 kilometers distant. In time, water systems, primarily powered by windmills, were situated strategically throughout the young plantations to provide access points for the bullock carts, which still haul the water to the trees. Of course, most

R. Diggs

EX WAXES ON
OVER HIS DREAM:





of the trees are planted just before the onset of the monsoon, a period of about two months when the rains are heavy, in contrast to the rest of the year, when very little rain falls. This tends to give the new trees time to establish their roots before hot weather.

In time, countless bunds were constructed that trapped water and allowed it to percolate into the ground. Contour bunds, earthen embankments of varying sizes, kept the water from running off to the sea, protected the land while it was regenerating, and became the basis for a system of irrigation. The ground water level rose. Wells that had been dry for years began to yield water again. Shelter, food, and water became available for wildlife.

The infrastructure for tree cultivation also included nurseries to establish seedlings and recultivate endangered species and large-scale composting areas.

As faster-growing trees and grasses became established, more slowly growing trees such as rosewood and teak were planted, now that they had the protected conditions and improved soil that would allow them to become established. Trees and wildlife that hadn't been seen for decades appeared spontaneously.

Nearby villagers, for whom the meaning of planning is insignificant next to the need to find food for today, looked on activities at Auroville with skepticism, and were not convinced by early efforts to explain to them the necessity for reforestation and soil restoration. That's why it was important for Aurovillians to be *living* there, struggling with the daily reality of watering plants, tending the soil. A plan imposed from outside would have been doomed from the start, but in time the neighboring villagers came to understand what was being done at Auroville. They began to apply these same plans to their own plots of land. When bunds were built on land uphill from Auroville, everyone benefited, because the water was preserved where it was trapped, and erosion from flooding was less of a threat downstream.

Recuperation of the soil also allowed continuing experimentation with food crops, and selection of the best varieties for the region. Aurovillian's attitude toward the soil, toward the place where they lived, was evident in their approach. It was — and is — respectful of the natural relationships that exist. And so, varieties of rice and other food crops that had been planted for centuries were selected in favor of so-called "green revolution" varieties. Many of the latter were found to be unable to sustain yields without chemicals, fell prey to pests, and had a number of other undesirable traits.

Reclamation of crop land is different from that of forest, but the common element is the return of natural organic materials to the soil. That meant saving the manure of animals for fertilizer, rather than burning dried dung for cooking fuel. But before it became fertilizer, manure and other organic materials were fed into bio-gas generators, where the anaerobic breakdown of these materials generates gas that is used for cooking. In the fields it also meant growing "green manure," cover crops that are rich in plant nutrients. These crops are allowed to mature, then are plowed directly into the soil. Soil thus enriched for a few seasons supported fine crops of native foods. Of several hundred varieties of rice found in India, about 20 have been found to thrive in the recovered soils of Auroville. Native crops yielded more than "green revolution" crops in the long run, were found to be significantly more nutritious, and what's more they tasted better.

In 1985 the Department of Environment of the Indian government awarded Auroville an important grant that provided funds for tree planting and soil and water conservation. This boost brought the reforestation efforts to a new level, and a number of new areas were planted. Millions of trees have been planted. Auroville has become a model of what can be done under the most unpromising of conditions.

In January 1989, after a complex period dealing with the bureaucracies of three nations, a group of young people from the USA and USSR met for two weeks at Auroville to plant 2000 trees. The project was an outstanding success, and fulfilled a longstanding dream of the Mother.

John Pennington is Coordinating Editor of Greener Times.

Alan Lithman (Savitra) is a 20-year resident of Auroville who has been deeply involved in environmental issues and communication there. He has recently assumed a liaison and fund-raising role for Auroville's many projects, the most recent of which was a joint tree-planting project that he organized involving youth from the US and USSR.

Auroville is not just a reforestation project, but a global community experiment of some 700 people with widely differing backgrounds. It has become largely self-sustaining, but relies on outside help for its continuing development programs such as reforestation. Auroville Today, a monthly newsletter with articles, opinion, news, and letters, can be subscribed to for \$12 yearly. Send check to: Auroville International USA, PO Box 162489, Sacramento, CA 95816.

Local Updates

New England Greens Divide

As of 26 August 1989, two groups have grown out of the New England Committees of Correspondence. One will continue to use "Committees of Correspondence" in its name; the other will be called the New England Green Alliance. The NEGA is free to apply for membership in the IC of the national Green CoC, and the NECoC has agreed not to block their application.

The new groups formed after several years of frustration over disagreements about principles and process. They have agreed to respect each other's efforts to organize, as well as the right of individuals or local groups to join either or both networks. The groups agreed not to engage in "bad-mouthing," personal attacks, or unprincipled criticisms of the other group. Debts will be equitably settled, and the new group will be provided with a complete NECoC mailing list, minutes, and Green Working Papers at the new clearing-house, which is now located in Holden, Maine.

Recent years have witnessed increasing polarization of positions in New England, with the Social Ecology-oriented Left Greens on one side. A series of regional assemblies led to a meeting on 26 August that some felt was illegitimate, being in fact a takeover attempt by Left Greens and in violation of bylaws. The bylaws state that regional assemblies are called by a Coordinating Committee consisting of representatives from local groups, and that an 80% vote is required if consensus cannot be reached. Neither bylaw was to be followed, leading many New England Greens to boycott the meeting. Others felt it was important to salvage shreds of common Green concern; these persons attended the meeting and saw to the tentative formation of the New England Green Alliance.

Both parties view the new arrangement as an opportunity to move ahead instead of dissipating energies on differences over process and principles.

reported by Betty Zisk, GT Correspondent

San Diego/Tijuana Bioregion Greens See Support for Green Ideals

The Greens of San Diego have changed their name to the Canyon Greens, leaving "Greens of San Diego" available for a regional name. We are hoping to have our regional charter completed this year in order to concentrate on hosting the March IC.

The Ocean Beach Greens Action Faction showed up in front of one of the largest pesticide companies in SD to call for more stringent regulation of pesticide applicators.

North County Coastal Greens are having tremendous turnouts at their meetings, and a new local may form in North County. No dues or fees are charged by NCCG.

Five of the eight challengers in city council elections supported Green policy proposals, according to a recent candidate survey conducted by the Greens of San Diego. None of the incumbents returned the survey.

The survey consisted of a check-off list of policy options under the headings of ozone layer protection, toxic materi-



als, food and water quality, energy policy, growth management, recycling, nonviolence, and water policy. "We listed a wide range of ideas, from minimal band-aid reforms to get-tough-let's-really-save-the-environment-type reforms," said Steve Saint, a Green coordinator. "In certain areas, quite a few candidates are willing to get tough."

For instance, all respondents support a ban on industrial hookups to sewer lines, requiring that toxic materials be disposed of properly at industry's expense. All said they would manage growth by holding environmentally-sensitive lands off-limits to developers. Only one candidate showed support for declaring San Diego a nuclear-free zone.

"Elimination of nuclear reactors is central to the Green movement," says Daniel Tarr, a Green coordinator. "Nuclear-powered naval vessels have leaked radioactive coolant into our bay at least 3 times in the past 10 years." Tarr says that the Greens plan to run candidates in the next city council election.

"We're tired of campaigns run on vagueness," said Saint. "That's why no one votes. We'll run campaigns on clarity. You'll know exactly what you're voting for."

Kip Krueger, GT Correspondent

Dixico Boycott "Successful" in Dallas

Frito Lay and Keebler were targets of a boycott by a coalition of Texas grassroots organizations including Greens. The companies and others contract with Dixico, Inc., a plastic packaging manufacturer that had applied for a permit to incinerate toxic and hazardous waste in a residential section of South Dallas, near middle and low-income homes, and only 3000 feet from a public elementary school.

Dixico's planned plastic packaging manufacturing process included the use of solvents, metal-based paints, printing ink, and plastic films. The chemicals listed in the permit application included lead, chromium, barium, selenium, acetone, toluene, methyl ethyl ketone, xylene, isopropyl alcohol and others. Some of these substances can cause cancer, birth defects, and central nervous system damage. Mary Kay Litvicki, a North Texas Green and a toy designer,

said the use of water-based paints based on natural ingredients would eliminate the need for disposing of hazardous materials in the first place.

Dixico, Inc., withdrew the permit application to incinerate in Dallas; however, they continued as before to incinerate in south Texas. "These companies are leaders in the snack industry, and therefore must take the responsibility for directing their industry in environmentally sound practices," said Fritz Kuehn, founder of the Oak Cliff Greens in South Dallas. He shared the hope that "through efforts such as [the coalition] we can enhance and preserve our environment."

reported by Gayle Hudgens, GT Correspondent

New York Green Party

In addition to ongoing *Ecologues* held at NYU, NYGP gave an open house featuring Dave Brower, chairman of Earth Island Institute. Summer events included picnics in Central and Prospect Parks. NYGP was also a co-sponsor of Eco-fest, an outdoor fair sponsored by NYC Parks and Rec, sharing a table with city council candidate Lance Fletcher. Kirkpatrick Sale was a participant at the Learning Alliance's workshop on Green organizing, Lorna Salzman presented a paper in South Australia in September and participated in a November environmental conference on Long Island, and Connie Salamone gave animal rights presentations in the northwest US just before SPAKA.

Active membership is nearing 60. The group is discussing involvement in a proposed Hudson River restoration project, Earth Day 1990, electoral politics, and the James Bay Defense Coalition, in defense of traditional Cree Indian lands in Quebec Province, Canada.

reported by Lorna Salzman

Marin Greens Hold Creative Housing Seminar

Students and young people are desperate for workable solutions to the housing shortage in Northern California. A

seminar, third in a series given by the fairly new but very active Marin Greens, presented 2 well-known authorities in the field. Called innovative housing, co-housing, or shared living quarters, various plans have demonstrated that there is a lively and healthy market for such ideas.

Fundraising — Some Notes

If all has gone as planned, the GCoC now have incorporation papers for both 501(c)(3) and (4). The Clearinghouse is the 501(c)(3), and the Green Education and Development Fund is the 501(c)(4). GE&DF goals have been proposed through December 1990. They include: Strengthen and revitalize the existing Green publications. Develop and implement a process for funding local and regional projects. The 501(c)(3) status allows local and regional groups to approach major donors and foundations. Locals should begin now to develop a wish list of projects they would like to see funded. If the Boulder Conference has an educational component, the GE&DF will be able to provide financial support. The GE&DF will initiate an ongoing direct mail education campaign that will greatly expand public awareness of the Greens in this country. Certain portions of Clearinghouse operation can be paid for with GE&DF moneys, including publications, part of the IC Bulletin, some letters and mailings, and parts of other expenses. Nominees to the Board of Directors are being sought for the Clearinghouse and the GE&DF. Director Sue Conti announced her resignation at the October IC meeting.

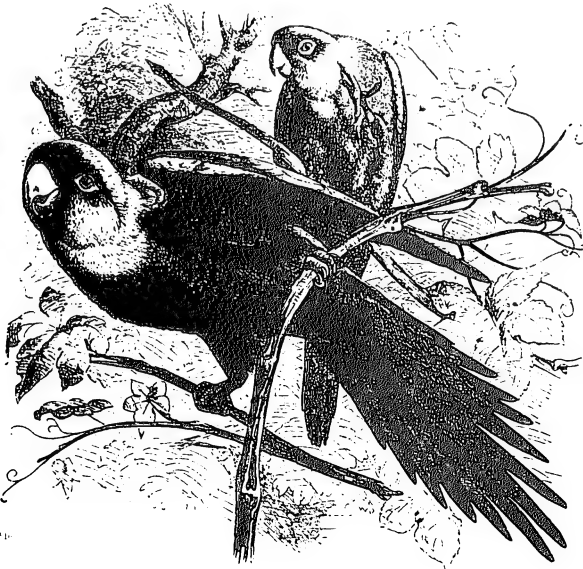
Delaware Valley Greens Plan Regional Conference

Penn's Valley Green Awareness, a newly-formed CoC, will sponsor a Bioregional Gathering March 17-18, 1990, which will also serve as the first organizing event for Greens in that region. The Bioregional Gathering will be educational and social, on a 176-acre farm and conference center in southern New Jersey, and will be open to the public.

Penn's Valley CoC is presently recruiting from a diverse area of concerns, specific workshop leaders, entertainers and exhibitors to represent the bioregion for the event. Those wishing to contribute their talents should contact Ted Ehrmann, Conference Co-ordinator, (215)736-8680 or 736-8960.

Boulder Greens Announce Projects

There are now five groups, including two campus groups, in the Denver metro/Boulder area, with several others forming around the state. Among current and recent projects are: co-sponsorship of the first bioregional conference in the area (with a representative of NABC); seats on several additional conference steering committees (Earth Day 1990 and Global Stewardship); initiated a requiem for the dusky sparrow, declared extinct earlier this year; ongoing direct action/education regarding the Rocky Flats plutonium processing plant; initiation of a grassroots, multi-county Citizens for Balanced Transportation group; other direct action and single-issue group participation; and formation of a Green Gathering 1990 steering committee.



Rocky Mountain High

Matthew Gilbert

Growing awareness of the ecological and social calamities besetting our world is being matched by a proliferation of think tanks and coalitions responding to these crises. Some are local, some are regional, while others are national or international in the scope of their influence. In Colorado, there are a number of such organizations, including the Telluride Institute (John Naisbitt, et al.), Rocky Mountain Institute (Amory/Hunter Lovins), the Aspen Institute, and the Windstar Foundation.

Windstar was established in 1976 by singer John Denver and martial artist Tom Crum. It is located on a 1000 acre spread in Snowmass, just outside Aspen and down the road from the Lovins'. According to its literature, the Foundation's primary charge is "providing opportunities for individuals to take responsible and informed action to create a healthy and sustainable future." Former managing director Bill Grovenstein has described the role of Windstar as more an "agent of change" than an ideological sentry. "We prefer not to think politically," he says. "We are process oriented. Sustainability is our politics."

Over the last several years, Windstar has developed an on-premise biodome solar greenhouse, hydro and wind-power prototypes, as well as educational programs in renewable energy and food production technologies.

Lately, however, it has sought a wider audience for its message and new sources of revenue, and more aggressive outreach has replaced some of Denver's singular appeal and deep pockets. One such strategy has been a yearly Choices for the Future Symposium, now in its fourth summer. These symposia bring together leading thinkers, activists and policy-makers to present ideas from a wide variety of perspectives, always in response to a particular theme. This year's focus was "Choices for a Healthy Environment: Personal and Planetary."

I attended this most recent program primarily as a representative of the Green press, but also as someone interested in what other groups were doing about our current dilemmas. What can the Greens learn from these efforts?

The speaker list was impressive. Among those present were Jeremy Rifkin, Claudine Schneider (Congresswoman from Rhode Island, competing with Al Gore and Tim Wirth for recognition as top political environmentalist—behind George Bush, of course), Jay Hair—president of the National Wilderness Federation, John Robbins (recent *Green Letter* cover interview), and Noel Brown of the United Nations Environmental Programme. Others with a more psychological and/or spiritual focus included Brooke Medicine Eagle, Jean Houston and Shakti Gawain. There was even a contingent of Tibetan monks on tour in the US sharing their ancient tradition of sand-painting. It is hoped that such a cultural exchange will begin to pierce the veil of ignorance that has kept Tibet and its current struggle for survival isolated from American awareness.

Total attendance at the conference was about 1500; they came from all over the US as well as other countries including Japan, the USSR, and Australia. The mood inside the tent where the presentations and invocations were made was an interesting mixture of revivalist psychotherapy and environmental consciousness-raising. Windstar's message clearly encompasses both our inner and outer ecologies, and relationships between the two were drawn frequently. Discourses on individual transformation and empowerment seemed to blend easily with those encouraging action and community involvement ("one person can make a difference"). The overall focus was decidedly *not* oppositional, however; instead, it encouraged people to take a roll-up-the-sleeves and let's work together approach to addressing our multiple problems. The attendees, predominantly white (well, three people were black), middle-class and well-meaning, responded enthusiastically.

As a way of reaching the masses with their message (and enticing new members), the Foundation is cultivating a network of community groups, according to Denver, Colorado coordinator Sonja Chapman, including one each in Tokyo, Sydney, and Toronto. They remain formative in nature, much like Green locals, with an average of 15-25 active members and mailing lists of 1000. Their primary activity has been to organize what is called Common Ground events in their area. These gatherings, which have attracted hundreds of people, are hosted by John Denver. Those who can afford the \$25.00 admission fee are rewarded with a three-hour multi-media environmental primer designed to educate and inspire. The unleashed energy is then channelled, hopefully, through the local Connections group, which in turn pass on most of the financial support to the Foundation.

Chapman's group is still reeling from the response to the spring Common Ground in Denver; they were not prepared to handle all of the interest generated by the event. Without clear structure or opportunities for action, they had no way of managing that response. Now, the group is trying to focus on several specific areas, including a speakers bureau, reforestation (using that as a fundraiser), and a more ambitious venture working with the local Sierra Club chapter on an Earth Aid event modeled after Live Aid and Farm Aid.

What were the group's most pressing concerns? "Community involvement," she responded. "Finding issues that have an immediate impact, that don't require long-term administration. We don't want to get stuck anywhere." Asked about the possibility of forming a coalition with the Greens, she was vague, with a marked sensitivity to the image of Windstar. "What are you?" she asked. "A non-profit, incorporated? Do you have by-laws: We cannot work politically with any group under the Windstar name because

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Green Alternative in Malta Formed

Jürgen Maier, Die Grünen, GT correspondent

One of the last West European countries lacking a Green-alternative party until recently was the tiny Mediterranean island of Malta (pop. 350,000). Malta has been characterized by an almost total polarization between the Labour Party and the Christian Democratic "Nationalist Party," since its independence from Britain in 1964. Ninety-six percent of the population votes, and the elections regularly end with almost 50-50 results. In Malta, you don't just vote for a party, you're born into a party, and political violence between the two "tribes" called parties is frequent. In these peculiar circumstances, it's not easy to form a third force, and so it took quite some time until it happened. On October 8th "Alternattiva Demokratika" was publicly launched, with 600 people attending and 50 people immediately joining. The group consists of environmental groups and frustrated former Labour and Nationalist supporters. They already have parliamentary representation: a MP who resigned from the Labour Party but kept his seat (something unprecedented in Maltese postwar politics) is among the founding members. Contact: *Alternattiva Demokratika, PO Box 521, Valletta, Malta.*

Estonian Greens: Now More Heat Than Light

Mati Rahu, GT International Correspondent, Estonia

On August 10, 1989, Estonian Radio reported that the Estonian Green Party (EGP) was formed this day. Mr. Mario Kivistik, a spokesman for the EGP explained that the Estonian Green Movement (EGM) has lost its political energy. In this situation the new party should focus immediately on political issues of Green values and goals.

For the majority of Greens in Estonia the birth of the EGP was a great surprise. A day later the Board of the EGM declared in a full voice that the party was made ahead of time, in an anti-democratic way, and the movement had nothing in common with it. Mr. Andres Tarand, a member of the political committee of the EGM, speaking on Estonian TV, characterized the founders of the party as "overambitious gentlemen."

The tension between the members of the party and the leaders of the movement did not find any solution at the meeting of the Council of the EGM on September 13. After 5 1/2 hours of hot-words discussion there was decided... almost nothing. So a consensus-building process is still far from the Greens, and one cannot exclude the possibility that in some time the growing polarization will give birth to a second Green party in Estonia.



Deforestation a Major Threat in Greece

Yannis Schizas, GT Correspondent

Greece, a mountainous country with soil erosion problems, unequal distribution of rainfall and a decline in fertility of farmland, is experiencing a continuous decrease in forest coverage that is not due to a transfer of land to agricultural uses. Deforestation accelerated dramatically during the 70s and 80s. Forest fires have become a real epidemic. With very slow natural regeneration and little reforestation process, Greece has followed the path of tremendous environmental degradation.

Current afforestation of 4000 hectares per year, combined with goat herding, hinders new growth. Conflicts between forest and animal-breeding uses are experienced because rangelands are extended at the cost of forest land.

Premeditated fires, especially during an election year (!) are a dominant characteristic, climbing from 32 thousand hectares to 105 since 1974 in election years. Environmentalists also argue that the hot peaks of summer in 1987 and 1988 can be attributed to micro-climatic changes following the decrease in vegetation.

State expenditures for anti-fire activities have decreased to half in real terms since 1983, inspiring an innovative new mode of practice by environmental activists. Small anti-fire groups formed in the capital area, where 40% of the population lives, and started forest protection activities in the mountains. "We cannot use the state inadequacy, immobility or indifference, as an alibi for our own passive attitude," is their motto. "Environment is not only a discipline of knowledge, or a subject which challenges official politics, but it is also a field of participatory intervention, of applied, practical ecology."

Results have been positive, and have spurred governmental action. However, these measures lag far behind those which are necessary.

Letters

Editor, *Greener Times*:

Whew, I'm finally done reviewing *Greener Times*. I gave it good marks overall. Too bad participation was limited to those who can attend meetings. Being handicapped, I find it hard to do so. I suspect there are many who can't participate... which leads me to the following points:

We believe participatory democracy is the ideal. However, many of us cannot participate, so we pick representatives to do it for us. Here lies the catch — once we choose a representative democracy, we've opened a can of worms. Professional politicians with trillion dollar budgets are the end result.

Until now we had no choice. But this age of communications has given us an ideal choice—a direct democracy. If two heads are better than one, what about a hundred, a thousand, a million heads working together, proposing and amending laws and voting on local, bioregional, national, international and global issues in blameless, uncorrupted, inexpensive, majority rule.

How does direct democracy work? Ask the Swiss, who govern themselves by weekly referendums; who have no professional politicians, and who have the highest per capita income in the world. (Greens might prefer the highest per capita global quality of life, but the Swiss advantage is obvious.)

Greens equate grassroots democracy with participatory democracy. However, grassroots democracy is only representative democracy with good intentions. Most representative democracies begin at the grassroots anyway.

Greens need to focus on direct democracy because the more entrenched representative democracy and its power elite become the more difficult it will be to change. Representative democracy has brought Germany's Greens a lot of divisive grief. They are now talking about direct democracy, but have a lot of inertia to overcome.

One first step toward direct democracy is to change one key value — from grassroots democracy to direct democracy.

Any debate on this issue?

Enrique G. Petrovich
Pompano Beach, Florida

Sweden

Ralph Meima, *GT Correspondent*

Sweden's Green party, known as Miljöpartiet de Gröna, has been in existence since 1981, and since 1988 has held seats in the Riksdag, or parliament. Elected and appointed Greens are active at all levels of government. There are three representative levels in Sweden: the Riksdag (national parliament), Landsting (provincial council), and Kommunfullmäktige (provincial council). One Green party exists at the national level, 28 at the provincial level, and 280 at the municipal level. In addition, there is a national youth wing for persons 26 or younger. Across all levels the basic organizational principles are: equality of representation of the sexes, limited periods of mandate, restriction of representatives to one level at a time, prohibition of employed staff from holding elected positions, and decentralization of financial and policy decisions at the municipal and provincial levels.

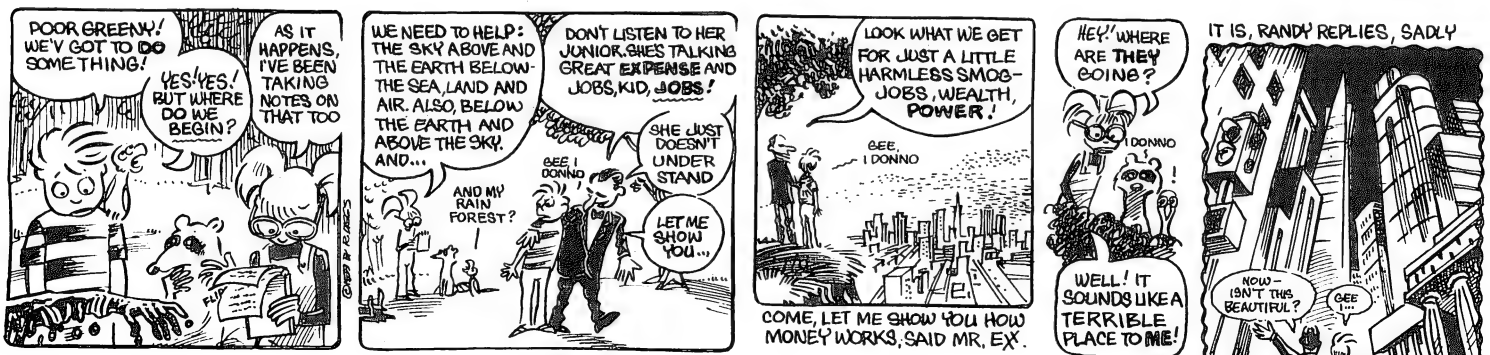
Miljöpartiet de Gröna emerged following a national referendum on the continued use of nuclear power in March 1980. Various groups came together to campaign for a "no" vote (but lost, with 38% of the vote). When a letter in the national daily newspaper called for the creation of a national ecology party, many people responded. A helping factor was that West Germany's Die Grünen had stimulated a lot of debate.

Following formation of an "Aktionsgrupp" and regional meetings, Miljöpartiet was officially founded in 1981, with de Gröna later added to the name. The homogeneous population of 8.4 million concentrated in 3 major cities and a system of proportional representation made the formation of the new group relatively easy.

Miljöpartiet de Gröna failed to reach the 4% vote threshold for seating in the Riksdag in both 1982 and 1985, but the period to 1988 was one of expansion and consolidation of power at the municipal level. From about 160 municipal seats in 1982, representation rose to over 700 in 1988, very significant because many social services are administered by the municipality. By 1988, issues such as acid rain, the North Sea mass seal deaths, Baltic Sea pollution, and chemical agriculture brought the party votes, putting them over the threshold with 5.5% of the national vote, earning seats in the Riksdag.

Greenspot

R. Diggs



Rainforests and the Greenhouse Effect

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must also have a rapid increase in the availability of timber to satisfy growing demand in the short term, and to take pressure off the scant remaining primary forests as a source of timber. We should learn from past experience and plant, as far as possible, mixed native species to try and replicate the naturally occurring native forests. These are, after all, adapted to local soils, climate, disease and pests.

These considerations scarcely enter into some of the plantation schemes that have been suggested. Greg Marland of the Oak Ridge Laboratories says that it would require a plantation of growing sycamores the size of Australia (around 7 million km²) to absorb given annual additions of 5 billion tonnes of carbon to the atmosphere (a considerable underestimate).¹⁴ Who can possibly assess the environmental, or indeed climatic impact of alien monocultures on that area? Norman Myers, who should know better, talks of plantations of fast growing leucanas which would require on the above figures only some 1.75 million km².¹⁵ And where could these vast plantations be placed? On lands damaged by tropical deforestation, of course.

However, as the World Resources Institute points out, "we should not be seduced into thinking [reforestation] can solve the warming problem. It is, says *Science*, "a temporary solution at best."¹⁶ Again the problem arises that, once established and mature, plantations would cease to be net consumers of carbon and would move into carbon cycle equilibrium. Thus they could buy us time and absorb part of our CO₂ imbalance but, once grown, they would be a huge, self sustaining carbon store. Any attempt to harvest or clear them would release that stored carbon back into the atmosphere unless their carbon stocks could be permanently removed from the carbon cycle. Myers suggests burying the trees or sinking them to the bottom of the ocean. Marland talks of using them to generate power and so replace fossil fuels.¹⁷ Neither appears to consider the effect that logging on that scale would have on already leached and badly disturbed soils, nor the effect of removing that quantity of stored nutrients from the nutrient cycle. The energy required to fell, bury or drown that many trees would be huge. How much CO₂ would be produced in the process?

Deforestation and Greenhouse

However, we do not have to feel that we have lost a string to our bow. Rainforests should play a central role in the Greenhouse debate. Maintaining rainforests will not help the Greenhouse Effect, but present rate of destroying them greatly accelerates its progress. A research article on the "contribution of global deforestation to the greenhouse effect," printed in *Science*, concluded that the importance of forest destruction "has been and remains much larger than has been commonly assumed." The article claims that up until 1960 forest destruction and other forms of biotic release

released more CO₂ than the burning of fossil fuels. In 1980, they estimate that whilst fossil fuel caused 5.9 billion tonnes of carbon released into the atmosphere each year, global forest clearing came a close second at 1.8 to 4.7 billion tonnes.¹⁸ Myers estimates that up to 4 billion tonnes of this would be from the burning of tropical forests for clearing. Rainforests hold such vast quantities of carbon in their biomass, some 340 billion tonnes, that this represents scarcely over 1% annual clearing.¹⁹

These figures are now out of date. In 1988 it was estimated that fires in Brazil alone produced 5 billion tonnes of CO₂ that year alone. They also produced 5 million tonnes of methane, and one million tonnes of nitrous oxide — both notorious Greenhouse gases.²⁰

None of these figures take into account the amount of logged timber that is destined to be burnt as wood product. Some of these, such as paper and marine plywood can have very short-lived use. What is more, fallen timber left in the forest encourages rapid increases in the population of termites, "vigorous methane producers," say the NCAR.²¹

Effects continue beyond logging and burning. Decomposition in the forest soils will continue to produce CO₂, especially once exposed. Much of the cleared forest lands in Asia have been turned over to paddy fields, a major source of methane. Similarly the cattle used to graze cleared forest areas in Latin America are prodigious producers of CO₂ and methane.

In conclusion then, we need to stress rainforest destruction as the second largest, and easily the most avoidable, contributor to the Greenhouse Effect; a point that is not widely made amongst the brouhaha over aerosol cans. We must be careful to get our facts right. A letter that we received on this point said "using false arguments is likely to reduce the credibility of the other reasons for saving the forests."²² We do, though, have to be cautious about reforestation schemes. If we could reforest areas of rainforest lost to clearing it would help reduce CO₂ levels in the short term. The main reasons, though, should be ecological. When the Greenhouse Effect starts to really take affect, mad monoculture plantation schemes might get a hearing, and this writer for one, has nightmares about the World Bank covering the globe with sycamores and eucalyptus. This might, though, be the time to get a good hearing for desperately needed, environmentally sensitive, reforestation.

*Rainforest Information Centre, PO Box 268 Lismore
2480 Australia. EcoNet: peg:rainfaus*

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New Zealand

Peter Horsley, GT Correspondent

Greens in New Zealand are gearing up for a second generation of Green activity. A matter of interest is whether the Values Party, which got 10% of the vote during the 1970s before its decline, should be formally disbanded as a liability in the current climate. A number of Green networks have been active in local elections, and a major mid-November gathering debated the formation of a national Green structure. A breakaway party from the Labour Government, which has an innovative foreign policy but an extreme right-wing economic stance, is working to link Green and Red principles, with the aim of becoming a major Green Party.

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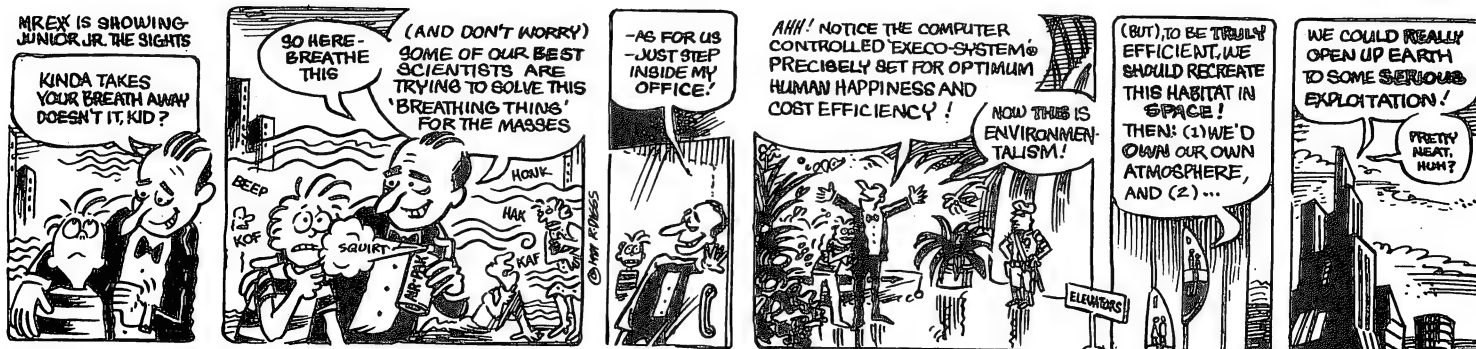
of our own restrictions." A curious concern given the clearly political nature of the conference: petitions were circulated, a letter of encouragement was sent to President Bush, and a call was made—albeit from an audience member—for Schneider's nomination for president. I should add here that most of the people I talked to at the symposium had not heard of a Green movement in the US; the Greens in Europe were far more easily recognized.

The struggles of the Connections group mirror the struggles most Greens are having despite a rising wave of interest in matters ecological and transformational. Putting on a "big event" is one thing; managing a movement is quite another. It is much easier to rally around a specific action or objective than an idea or philosophical imperative. Further, there now exists unprecedented opportunity for many groups to tap into growing citizen concerns; this may put additional strain on an already limited resource base as different organizations compete for attention. Still, more and more people are ready, and looking for something to do.

In looking back on the experience, I felt there was an underlying snobbishness to Windstar that shows up as an unpleasant smear on an otherwise important and ecological vision of the road to a healthy future. The focus on the personal as well as the political is a necessary acknowledgment, one that has fit uncomfortably in the fabric of Green debate. And their non-confrontational approach clearly draws a crowd of people who by most measures have a Green life-view. At the same time, many of these Windstar "groupies" seemed unwilling to offend anyone, or ask some of the harder questions such as those regarding the impacts of economic growth, concentrated wealth, or the hypocrisy of corporate socialism.

The fact that environmentalism has gone mainstream is potentially a very good one. It has galvanized countless individuals who otherwise might be sitting in front of a television or wandering through a landscape of despair. The jury is still out, however, as to whether long-term institutional and behavioral change will actually take place, or whether those less glamorous issues such as social justice, economic opportunity, and animal rights will enjoy the same enthusiastic attention.

Greenspot



R. Diggs

The Inter-Regional Committee Meets

Jim Richmond

The Potomac Valley Green Network graciously hosted over seventy IC delegates, working group members, and interested observers at the Interregional Committee meeting October 20-22 in Washington.

The formidable task of leading 30 delegates "consensus style" through a thicket of agenda items was made much easier by Caroline Estes' gift for facilitation and the increased reliance upon small groups to work through complex issues. Plans for the third national gathering in Boulder, Colorado in early September 1990 are taking shape. A 20 member planning committee selected three coordinators to guide us towards Boulder. Pending confirmation at the March IC meeting, Mindy Lorenz will do community and alliance building with activists and Green-minded organizations; Matthew Gilbert will be responsible for site planning; and Christa Slaton will be in charge of development of the SPAKA process. Major goals of the conference are: ratification of the Green Program, community building among Greens, alliance building with other organizations, and applying the Green program to: 1) electoral politics, 2) alternative institutions, 3) direct action, 4) public education.

To handle early conference expenses the coordinators are asking all Green CoC members who plan to attend to send the conference group \$25. Those who send this deposit will receive a \$25 discount on the final fee, estimated at about \$200-250 for the five-day conference. Early registrations can be sent to Green Gathering 1990, P.O. Box 1289, Boulder, CO 80306. This early registration bonus will likely be discontinued after the first of the year.

On the matter of overall finances, the fundraising committee reported that both the 501(c)3 and 501(c)4 are filed and will be ready soon. Beyond this, there is a need to file bylaws in order to obtain tax-exempt status from the IRS.

It was then decided that the current draft of bylaws be submitted by the IC as an interim document for filing purposes. The Bylaws Working Group will be circulating a copy of the bylaws to all locals. Where possible, input from the locals will be incorporated into the bylaws and discussed at the next IC meeting.

Other decisions made:

*Endorsed the following projects: November 12 NOW Mobilize to Save Women's Lives rally; Global Walk for a Livable World; and the Veteran's Peace Action Team to Big Mountain.

*Approved the formation of an Electoral Action Exploratory Working Group to research and share information on electoral plans and campaigns throughout the country.

* Approved the 1990 budget which was roughly 54% larger than last year. Income increased nearly 73% from 1988-1989.

* Declined endorsement of a national Earth Day Wall Street Action at the IC level; locals and regions can support this action if they see fit.

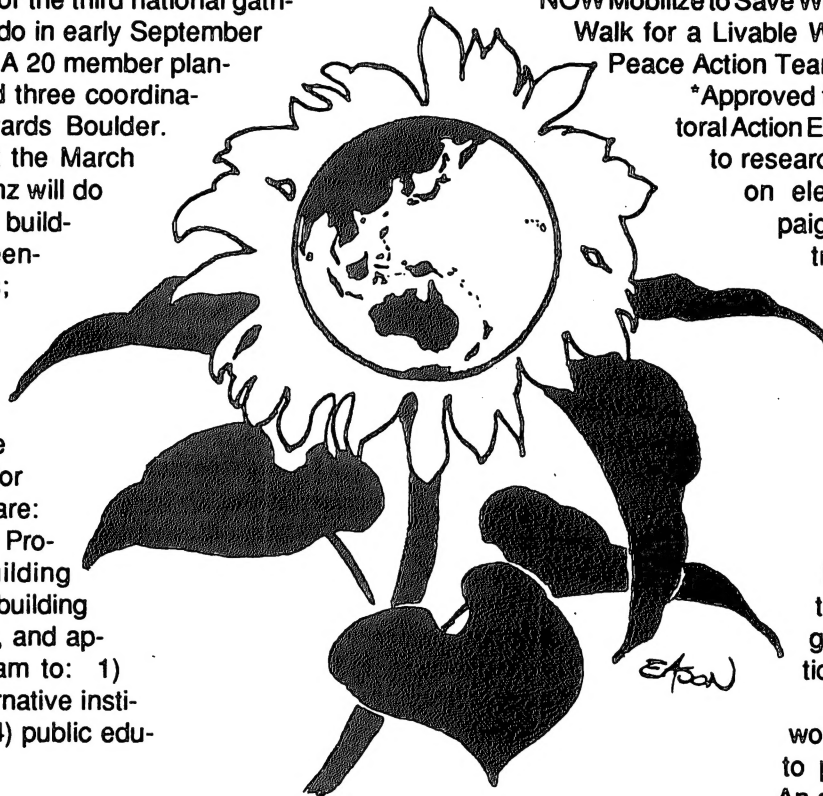
* The Green Letter working collective was hired to publish Greener Times. An ad hoc group was also established to look into the relation of the papers to the GCoC

with the publications' staffs. This group is to make recommendations to the next IC meeting.

* Dissent was initially expressed on the Clearinghouse/Coordinator question. Mindy Lorenz gracefully closed this issue by proposing that the Clearinghouse remain in Kansas City and that Jim Richmond remain as coordinator, as opposed to acting coordinator. This was adopted and the issue will not be raised again until February 1991.

* Agreed to raise the price of our brochure from \$8 to \$10 per hundred and the IC Bulletin from \$25 to \$35 per year.

* San Diego will host the next IC meeting, March 2-4, 1990.



Planning for Boulder: Green Gathering 1990

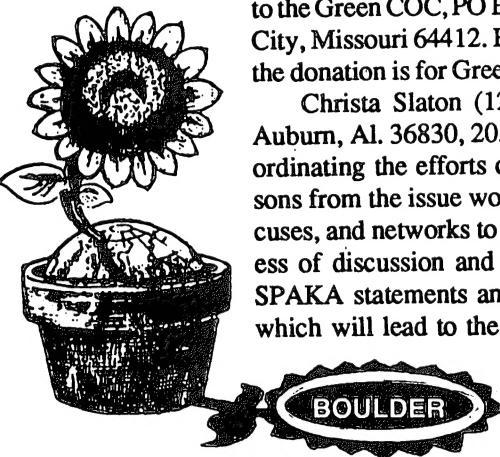
The Planning Committee for the September Gathering in Colorado is hard at work soliciting input from locals across the country in an effort to maximize the grassroots democratic participation essential to successful Green organizing.

There are three coordinators for the Boulder Conference that are continuing the plans made at Eugene and seeking the involvement of all locals in the tasks that lie ahead.

Matthew Gilbert (Box 1289, Boulder, Co. 80306, 303-449-8390) is the site coordinator and is soliciting "seed money" for the pre-conference planning by asking locals to send him a \$25 deposit per person (up to three people) that can be used as a discount off the total conference price. Delegates can be designated later after the delegate policy is established. Checks should be made out to Green Gathering 1990. Also, if one wishes to make a tax deductible contribution to aid the conference, checks can be

made out to Earth Island Institute and sent to the Green COC, PO Box 30208, Kansas City, Missouri 64412. Be sure to note that the donation is for Green Gathering 1990.

Christa Slaton (128 Tal Heim Dr., Auburn, AL 36830, 205-821-1077) is coordinating the efforts of the contact persons from the issue working groups, caucuses, and networks to continue the process of discussion and integration of the SPAKA statements and the Eugene text which will lead to the ratification of the Green Program at Boulder. It is very important that locals get



involved in this process now by discussing the texts and responding to the contact persons as groups who have discussed the ideas and reached consensus at the local levels. Issues and ideas that were neglected at Eugene must be identified by the locals prior to Boulder so that all locals have a chance to discuss them and offer their input as well as instruct their delegates.

Mindy Lorenz (157 South Pacific Ave., Ventura, Ca. 93001, 805-648-4305) is coordinating the alliance building efforts and will be conducting a needs assessment of the locals to determine the types of workshops and information sessions that they would like to have offered at Boulder.

Names and addresses of any persons or groups that would help the Greens build alliances with others who share Green values should be sent to her. Also special needs of locals should be identified and passed on to her as soon as possible to aid in the development of the conference program.

The Planning Group will make a report at the San Diego IC Meeting in March and provide additional information on conference costs, participants, and program. Any ideas, questions, or suggestions should be sent to one of the coordinators. It is very important that they receive help from the locals NOW in the tasks that must be completed before Boulder.



Spaka Information

Water/Air Committee (Name was printed as

"Water" before.)

The committee has decided on the following statement:

Water is Life

Air is Life

We are

One

The Re-evaluation Counseling Network (a.k.a. Co-Counseling) got lost in the shuffle. The Network came together at Eugene for the purpose of bringing Co-Counseling processes and values into the Green movement. Contacts:

Skip Mendler

P.O. Box 81828

Pittsburgh, PA 15217 (412) 421-7854

Barbara Harmony

Rte.3 Box 720

Eureka Springs, AR 72632 (501) 253-9431

Social Justice Contact change of address:

Gary Stuard

4317 Stanford

Houston, TX 77006

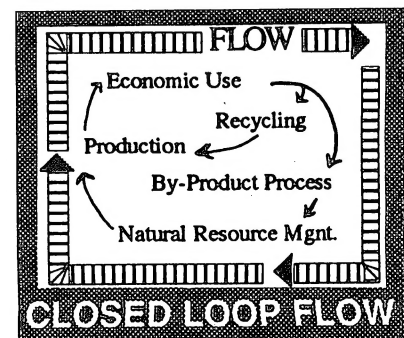
Education Contact correction of name; Robin Williams is in fact Robin Brooks of

920 Kennedy Dr.

Capitola, CA 95010

EcoNet Mail: KR Brooks

Materials Use and Waste Management had the following chart on page 34 of the SPAKA statements. The title was inadvertently left out. It should look like this:



Youth Greens Concerned

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS ADOPTED BY THE YOUTH GREENS AT THEIR FALL MEETING IN MINNEAPOLIS, OCTOBER 13-15, 1989

The largest and most visible Green group in the U.S., the Green Committees of Correspondence (GCOC), has initiated a process of drafting a nation wide political platform, called SPAKA. Although the membership is against the idea of Green involvement in the national electoral system, at least through 1992, an informal elite at the inter-regional level continues to push in this direction.

We object to the characterization of the results of the recent Eugene Green gathering as constituting a "Green Program USA" and suggestion that the GCOC will hold a "Green Party USA" convention in June, 1992; the fact that this misrepresentation was made in the official journal of the GCOC and record of a National delegated gathering makes this occurrence even more serious. Our reasons concern both content and rhetoric.

In terms of content, the Greens will have to better include the perspectives of native people, people of color, labor, farm, youth, and the left in its program developing to genuinely claim to be a diverse and democratic majoritarian organization. The white middle class cannot comfortably write a political program in homogeneous locations such as Eugene and Boulder, and then expect others to simply join them. Rather, we should be including the views of the diverse social and cultural constituency of this continent in the very formulation of our program. Nothing should hold us back from developing and communicating our ideas—far from it—but to form a national political party without an organic grass-roots process leading up to continental wide action is vanguardist; this is one of the many reasons the Youth Greens stand opposed in principle to any national electoral strategy. Let's keep building the movement and by all means developing positions, but we must take things one step at a time.

Isn't this the consensus coming out of Eugene?

Specifically, no where in the working papers that came out of the Eugene gathering is the idea of a national electoral party endorsed. The Working Group on Politics says explicitly in their paper that "we cannot sanction at this time the establishment of a National Green electoral party." Two suggestions of Green involvement in 1992 and 1996 elections were "not strongly supported" in the words of the Strategy Working Group, and were

felt to need much further discussion. To place these unsupported notions within the program booklet is simply and blatantly a misrepresentation of the delegated discussions and decisions made in Eugene.

In terms of rhetoric, we'd like to know who in Eugene or anywhere else mandated a "Green Party USA" convention in June, 1992? If the GCOC membership democratically decides to hold a "Green Party USA" convention, fair enough. Let us, the membership, decide what we want and when we want it. Qualifications of "crystal ball gazing" make it no less an offense to the membership when it's done by an influential Green accompanying a mailing to all locals, complete with the author's own teleology. As Theodor Adorno points out, rhetoric is content. The way an argument is presented or the way the future is projected influences how people think about issues and take action.

Secondly, we object to the association of Greens with nationalism implicit in the qualification of Greens as that of the USA or the US. The German Greens are known there as simply *die Grunen*, the Greens, not even the Green Party, or worse still Green Party, Federal Republic of Germany. *Die Grunen* has already been accused of nationalism for its anti-NATO, neutralist positions. Although we don't believe this charge stands up, how worse would the matter be if they identified themselves, in their own name, with the West German nation-state?

The Germans have to live with the past horrors of the Nazis and the continuation of an authoritarian state apparatus, buttressed in part by the United States. The problem is even more acute here in the United States. Whereas Germany was once the chief aggressor on the world stage, it is now the US which is playing this role in the world. Often fish don't know they are in water, but anyone outside the lake can clearly see this. For a Green movement, committed to anti-imperialism and inter-nationalism, to identify itself with imperialist power in its own name is an insult to the peoples of the world suffering from U.S. exploitation and to those of us in the Greens and broader anti-authoritarian movements opposed to the nation-state and US hegemony. Of course we are organizing in the United States; although we work for its abolition—the bioregional or confederal project—we don't deny its existence. But why capitulate to the state by including it in our name?

We propose that the Greens simply be known as the Greens as they are all over Europe. Even to call ourselves the Green Party would be to put the cart before the horse by emphasizing our electoral expression over the more important movement, of which electoralism is only one component.

Editors' Response

An apology is owed to the Youth Greens and any others whose political sensibilities were offended by using the term: "Green Program USA." This was done in an effort to get away from "in group" language—"SPAKA" is an insider's term and means nothing to anyone who has not yet gotten involved with the Greens. The term: "Green COC Program" will now be used. Sorry.

On the issue of "'Green Party USA' convention 1992" this, as stated, was simply musings of John Rensenbrink's. It was not printed in the official section of the paper; all the SPAKA proceedings and group listings were in a separate section set off by its own footer at the bottom of each page beginning with the sunflower along with the words: "Evolving Green Program USA."

Green Letter welcomes publishing different perspectives in relation to these issues and does not give preference to any so called "elites."

—Margo Adair for Green Letter



Green Letter Contributions

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Green Letter/Greener Times welcomes article, graphics, letters and other contribution's. Graphics should be clean xeroxes, not original artwork. Written pieces can be sent in any legible form, but it is a great help to us if they are sent on Mac or IBM discs in simple "ASCII" format. Please write us if you have questions.

All SPAKA revisions will be included in the next issue. They have earlier deadlines because they must first go to the contacts of each group and then be passed on to us via Christa Slaton. (See page 38).

Upcoming Issue Themes

SPRING '90--What is Progress? Send us your ideas -- brief notes and full articles welcome.

--deadline January 20, 1990

SUMMER '90--Movement Building

--deadline April 20, 1990

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